

ON THE
THRESHOLD
of HOME RULE

By
P. J. CONLAN



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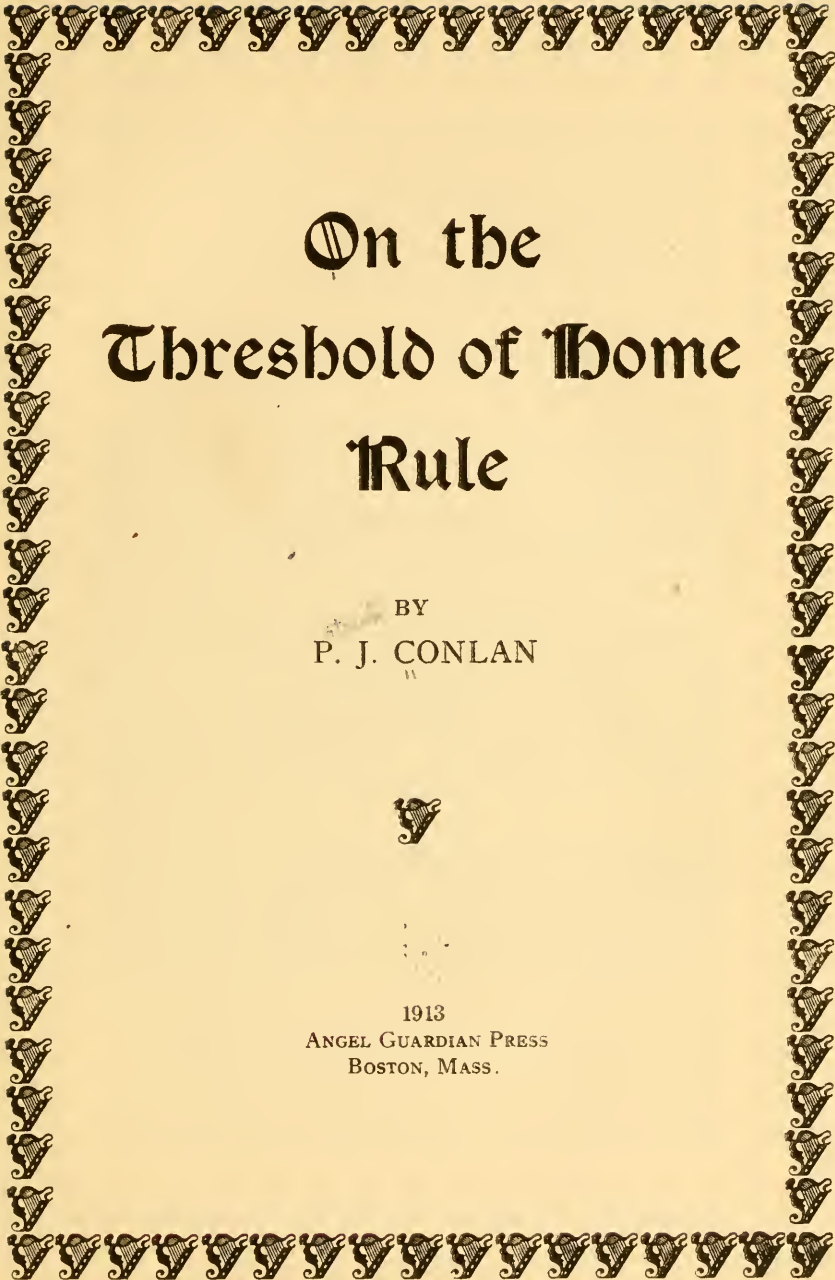
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P. J. CONLAN
Author



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A WORD OF INTRODUCTION.

The following work has been a labor of love to the writer, one who has loved Erin earnestly and long; and has tried to serve her as best he could always, and having now reached the evening of life, is most anxious to see her free, and dis-enthralled, before the night closes in.

If this little book should lessen her sufferings, which now, thank heaven, seem about to end, or hasten the dawn of liberty, he will be amply repaid for any labor it may have cost him. He may truly say with Erin's well beloved poet, Moore:—

“With thee were dreams of my earliest love;
Every thought of my reason was thine;
In my last humble prayer to the Spirit above
Thy name shall be mingled with mine!

PREFACE

For much of the correspondence in the following pages, and for some of the data, I am indebted to the Irish World and its late lamented editor, Patrick Ford.

Mr. Ford, by the tremendous fight which he has waged on behalf of Ireland for the last forty years, has done as much to place the Irish cause in its present glorious position as any other person, living or dead.

The Irish race owes his memory undying gratitude which I am sure it will repay a hundred fold.

DEDICATION.

This work is dedicated to all lovers of liberty the world over; but in a special manner to the scattered children of the "sea divided Gael," whose undying loyalty to the National Ideal: Ireland a Nation, and whose ceaseless and untiring devotion to Motherland, lasting all down the centuries, in good report and evil report, has brought us in sight of the Promised Land, to the "Threshold of Home Rule."

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CHAPTER I.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF HOME RULE.

How is Old Ireland and how does she stand?

As the dawning of the day of Ireland's redemption seems near at hand, the coming of Home Rule, the day for which the Irish people have hoped and prayed, and for which so many of them for long and weary centuries have suffered and died, in the prison, on the scaffold and on the field, it is fitting we should ask the old question found at the beginning of this chapter:—

How is Old Ireland and how does she stand?

It is a great, a momentous question, especially at this time, when, thank God, the light of liberty is already shining on her beaming face, so long alas bedewed with tears!

To-day, it looks indeed as if almost all her fondest hopes were soon to be realized; as if peace and good will, justice and fair play, for the Irish people of every class and creed, were about to descend on the dear Old Land, and thus enable her to renew her youth, and her standing among her sister nations of the world.

At such a time then, with hope beckoning us on, lovers of Ireland may well, I repeat, ask the old question, so often asked by our fathers in the olden days!

We Irish exiles can say with Mr Con. O'Leary in a recent number of the *Irish World*:—

“Though he should be thousands of miles away from the cradle-land of his race, the waves will bear her the message of a hungering heart—will bring to us a question that was Napper Tandy's question and the question of the generations since then.

“How eager with passionate longing it sounds, that cry, ever old, ever new; it is inarticulate in the throbbing of the exile's heart whenever green fields, turf fires and the faces of the old folks throng, like risen dead, before his mind's vision. It accompanies the snatches of old melody that he finds himself humming in moments of solitude. It is present with him above all in moods of gentle calm; in his prayers he sends the question right into Heaven, and he teaches the little Yankee-Irish who cling around his knees to ask the question too.

“It is the text of every “American letter” read aloud at the fireside gatherings in the farmhouses of Ireland. It is a question older than Napper Tandy, and one that will outlive his memory—a question as old as emigration; yea, as old as the English occupation.

“May we doubt that it was asked on the first coffin ship? Was it not asked in

the Irish camp before Fontenoy? Two rival armies united in asking it in the American Civil War. It comes to children of exiles with the dawning of reason, and it will be blent with their dying prayers.

"Prisoner O'Meagher Condon, when the hangman's fatal rope dangled before you, and you uttered your passionate prayer, undaunted by the frown of an alien judge whose fingers clutched at the cap of death, you little thought that you were bequeathing to your people an immortal anthem of liberty.

"And brave Tandy, when you took an obscure poet by the hand, had you any inkling at all that the sobbing words you uttered would live forever on the mouths of your countrymen and keep your memory greener than gravestone or monument.

"A question this that springs from a hundred questions, the postscript to our history, and the beginning of our catechism of nationality, and the passport to our destined future.

"Cry, ever old, ever new, question asked at the rising and setting of the sun, question confronting 1913 on the threshold of her new tenancy:

"How is poor Old Ireland and how does she stand?"

"Parliament has risen for a brief Christ-

mas vacation of ten days, and there is a temporary lull in the war-bustle that for many months has centered round the future fate of Ireland. We may take advantage of the breathing-space to attempt an answer to the favorite question of our race. Where has the past year brought Ireland or left her? Does she still stand unmoved above the sea? What does the new year hide as it peeps through the haze of futurity—is sunshine or sorrow to be her destiny?

“But undying hope was always the beacon on the hill, and time after time she rose triumphant over despair, over what seemed inexorable fate.

“And so it is that if today our outlook were not laden with the ripe fruit of promise, and the skies above our island were fringed with leaden tints, she would nevertheless be big with hope and secure in the belief that the dawn of her destiny only awaited the bursting forth of the sun of victory, which lay hidden somewhere behind the dark canopy. But happily, victory and pride are her hand-maidens today.

“In the year now dying she has passed the novitiate to her freedom, in the year coming to birth, 1914, the great work of emancipation will be completed. Wherever we look about our fields, the eyes seem to catch the first unfolding of an eternal springtime of which God Himself has been the gardener.



JOHN E. REDMOND, M. P.
Leader Irish Party.

"The music of freedom is singing in our hearts, the hightide of victory is swelling in our souls. What hope, what strength, what destiny lie behind the great optimism of the nation. Only a little time and the land shall rise, smiling in her freedom, to take her place as a respected rival in the comity of nations.

"1912 was a remarkable year in the history of the Home Rule movement. It saw the introduction of the third Home Rule Bill, the fullest, most generous and most comprehensive measure of Irish amelioration ever sponsored by a British ministry.

"In spite of an opposition of unprecedented violence and malignity it passed its second reading by a majority of over a hundred, and clause by clause on the committee stage the Government forces fought and conquered.

"The truth is that Home Rule has made a real appeal to the reason and conscience of the English democracy and in support of the Government proposals they are convinced, unanimous and enthusiastic."

Dear intensely Irish and patriotic Fanny Parnell, how she longed and hoped and prayed to see this day, and died broken hearted because she didn't see it, as the reader may judge by the following exquisite poem, written by her a short time before her death.

POST MORTEM

(*By Fannie Parnell.*)

Shall mine eyes behold thy glory, O my country?
Shall mine eyes behold thy glory?
Or shall the darkness close around them, ere the sun-
blaze
Break at last upon thy story?

When the nations ope for thee their queenly circle,
As a sweet new sister hail thee,
Shall these lips be sealed in callous death and silence
That have known but to bewail thee?

Shall the ear be deaf that only loved thy praises
When all men their tribute bring thee?
Shall the mouth be clay that sang thee in thy squalor
When all poets' mouths shall sing thee?

Ah! the harpings and the salvos and the shoutings
Of thy exiled sons returning
I should hear, though dead and moldered, and the
grave damps
Should not chill my bosom's burning.

Ah! the tramp of feet victorious! I should hear them
'Mid the shamrocks and the mosses,
And my heart should toss within the shroud and quiver
As a captive dreamer tosses.

I should turn and rend the cere clothes 'round me,
Giant-sinews I should borrow,
Crying, "O my brothers I have also loved her,
In her lowliness and sorrow.

"Let me join with you the jubilant procession,
Let me chant with you her story;
Then contented I shall go back to the shamrocks
Now mine eyes have seen her glory."

In the presence of the glorious army of Irish Protestants, who have for centuries fought and died to make Ireland a Nation, of whom Fanny Parnell was not the least, how mean, how despicable, is the contention of the little Orange faction of Ulster, who claim that under Home Rule the Irish Catholics would be unjust to, and persecute their friends and neighbors of the Protestant faith!

Not only was Miss Parnell herself a Protestant, but her whole family, including, of course her famous, brother, the late Charles Stewart Parnell, the one time leader of the Irish National Party.

As every intelligent student of Irish history knows, a very large proportion of Ireland's heroic and martyred dead for two centuries or more were Protestants, including Emmet, Wolf Tone, Curran, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Grattan, John Mitchell, William Smith O'Brien, and so on, almost without end.

These men had no fear that Home Rule for their motherland would bring ruin to them and all they held dear!

Thomas Davis, one of Ireland's most patriotic sons, though a non-Catholic, had no thought of, or fear of persecution, or ill treatment, when he penned his stirring and immortal poem "Our Own Again."

OUR OWN AGAIN.

(By Thomas Davis.)

Let the coward shrink aside.
We'll have our own again;
Let the brawling slave deride,
Here's for our own again—
Let the tyrant bribe and lie,
March, threaten, fortify.
Loose his lawyer and his spy,
Yet we'll have our own again.
Let him soothe in silken tone,
Scold from a foreign throne;
Let him come with bugles blown,
We shall have our own again,
Let us to our purpose bide,
We'll have our own again—
Let the game be fairly tried,
We'll have our own again.

Send the cry throughout the land,
"Who's for our own again?"
Summon all men to our band,
Why not our own again?
Rich and poor, and old, and young,
Sharpsword, and fiery tongue—
Soul and sinew firmly strung,
All to get our own again.
Brothers thrive by brotherhood—
Trees in a stormy wood—
Riches come from Nationhood—
Shan't we have our own again?
Munster's woe is Ulster's bane!
Join for our own again—
Tyrants rob, as well as reign,
We'll have our own again.

Oft our father's hearts it stirr'd,
"Rise for your own again!"
Often pass'd the signal word,

“Strike for your own again!”
Rudely, rashly, and untaught,
Uprose they, ere they ought.
Failing, though they nobly fought,
Dying for their own again.
Mind will rule and music yield,
In senate, ship and field—
When we’ve our strength to wield,
Let us take our own again.
By the slave, his chain is wrought,
Strive for our own again.
Thunder is less strong than thought,
We’ll have our own again.

Calm as granite to our foes,
Stand for our own again,
Till his wrath to madness grows—
Firm for our own again.
Bravely hope, and wisely wait,
Toil, join, and educate:
Man is master of his fate;
We’ll enjoy our own again.
With a keen constrained thirst—
Powder’s calm ere it burst—
Making ready for the worst,
So we’ll get our own again.
Let us to our purpose bide,
We’ll have our own again,
God is on the righteous side,
We’ll have our own again.

The pretended fear of Catholic intolerance by the Tories and especially by the Orangemen of Ulster, is so absurd as to be ridiculous especially when we recall the fact, so well known to all honest students of history, namely, that the Irish Catholic people have never been known, in all their checkered career, to persecute for conscience sake; never

once; and all writers on Irish history, Protestants, as well as Catholics, bear cheerful testimony to that fact, Leckie, the Irish Protestant writer, among them.

Besides nearly all that great body of Irishmen who at the head of the patriot Volunteer Army of 100,000 men, who wrung from Great Britain, in 1782, the restoration of Ireland's native Parliament, and who during the life of said parliament made Ireland great and prosperous were almost to a man Protestants: as were nine tenths of the Volunteers!

As the Catholics possessed no civic rights at the time and could not of course bear arms, they could only aid the patriotic movement with such means as lay within their reach, sympathy and material aid, and these they gave lavishly, according to their means.

At the beginning of the Volunteer movement, the Catholics were rigidly excluded from their ranks, but as the people became more and more aroused, a broader spirit of tolerance, justice and patriotism took possession of them; and this gradually extended to the Volunteers themselves, so much so that in a short time, between 1787 and 1780, we find them at their different conventions passing resolutions of sympathy for Catholics: and in some instances demanding their rights!

About this time Catholics were, here and there, gradually admitted into the ranks, but always grudgingly and jealously. Irish Catholics being naturally of a warlike race, as soon as they were at liberty to do so, threw

themselves into the Volunteer movement with all the ardor of a long suffering people, a people who were now, after such long and awful oppression, about to get a glimpse of the promised land.

It was only a very short glimpse however, for in a few years the Volunteers began to return to their long inherited spirit of intolerance and hatred, and again shut out the Catholics.

By this act the Volunteers signed their own death warrant, and in a very few short years nothing remained of this one time splendid body of soldiers, a body that had been the pride and the glory as well as the hope of Ireland, Protestants and Catholics, but a memory! And with them departed, in less than twenty years, the Parliament they had been the chief means of establishing.

England, quick to see that the exclusion of the Catholics from among the Volunteers had prepared the ground for her old and long used policy of sowing dissension among the people, proceeded to do so at once; and its first fruit was the overthrow of the Volunteers themselves, and without the firing of a gun!

The Catholics were not as yet citizens, and in the words of John Mitchell, Irish historian and patriot, "if Catholics were permitted to breathe in Ireland, it was by connivance; and against the law! Plunged in poverty, and ignorance; barred from all education, both at home, and abroad; a price set on the

head of the priest and the schoolmaster; despoiled of arms, rank and votes; excluded from all offices, high and low; shut out from the professions; unable to own land, or hold mortgages, their condition was indeed a pitiable one; so dreadful that a distinguished writer says it was worse than that of the early Christians during the ten persecutions of the pagan Roman emperors!

And yet they had an instinctive feeling that the independence of their country, even when gained by the agency of the English colonists among them, who had been their bitterest oppressors—backed up always by the might of England—meant their own emancipation, sooner or later.

Perhaps one of the most generous acts of forgiveness of injuries to be found in the history of nations, and the return of good for evil, is the incident told of the Catholics of Limerick about this time. Being refused admission to the ranks of the Volunteers, they, to show their intense practical sympathy and interest with the movement, subscribed four thousand dollars for the Volunteer treasury.

Notwithstanding the terribly fierce and bitter opposition to home Rule by the Orangemen and a comparatively small number of factionists and office holders in the northeast corner of Ulster, it can truly be said of Ulster, as a whole, that she is the mother of an army of Irish patriots and martyrs, and a very large number of them Protestants, men and women, who gave up everything that people

value, life itself in many cases, for Ireland.

If further proof of the broad and tolerant spirit of the Catholic Irish were needed, it is found in the fact that of the 85 nationalist members of the British parliament, 8 are non-Catholics, and all chosen by Catholic constituents!

They talk of intolerance! Here is a sample not of Catholic intolerance however, but of Protestant intolerance, and in the North East corner, in Belfast!

“From the salary lists of public boards in Belfast, Catholics are rigidly excluded, and $98\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of all salaries go to Protestants. The following are the figures for 1911:

“Board of Guardians, out of \$83,950 salaries, Catholics get \$3,400.

“Harbor Board, out of \$56,345 salaries, Catholics get \$1,250.

“Water Board, out of \$26,980 salaries, Catholics get \$325.

“Corporation, out of \$343,615 salaries Catholics get \$3,840.

“And among the twenty-five doctors employed by the City Council there is not one Catholic.”

And these are people who preach about “Catholic intolerance” in Ireland and pretend to fear “Catholic persecution” under Home Rule.

CHAPTER II

THE FIGHT IS ON.

After months of bitter and tumultuous debate, of charges and counter charges and of threatened rebellion, often repeated by the Unionists, but especially by the Orange portion of the party, the Home Rule Bill was passed in the House of Commons, January 16, 1913, and by the great majority of 110! As the total Irish National vote is but 85, and on this occasion, owing to sickness and death, only 82 were able to vote, it is evident the bill would have had a majority of nearly thirty votes, made up, of course, of English, Scotch, and Welsh votes, even if none of the Irish had voted!

It was an epoch marking occasion; one of the great historic days that will stand out for all time, especially in Irish and English annals!

The English Prime Minister seemed to fully realize that fact, and as a consequence he spoke, not to the Commons only, but to the world! Here I give a brief summary of the great speech, as I find it in the columns of the *Irish World*:—

“The deep feeling that ran like a strong current through his speech emphasized the fact that the emancipation of Ireland has become the master passion in Asquith’s life.

“PARNELL’S DEATHLESS WORDS.”

“He pointed out that Balfour misinterpreted Irish history when he thought that the terminus from which discussion should be begun was the Act of Union, as if before then there was no such thing at all as Ireland. The Irish question stretched far behind the Act of Union, and was the direct sequel of the old story of conquest and reconquest, of plantation, of devastation and expropriation. “The Irish National movement,” declared the honorable gentleman, “has passed from the stage of sentiment and of aspiration and of abortive thought into what it is today—an organized, practical, inevitable reality—the reality which has confronted us ever since we enfranchised the democracy of Ireland thirty years ago, and which confronted our predecessors, and which we cannot ignore.

“If you were to reject this Bill you would find still standing in your path what is and remains with undiminished vitality the organized, articulate and permanent expression of the political demands of the vast majority of the Irish people. In face of these demands, persisted in through the lifetime of a whole generation with unwavering strength and power, what are you going to do?” Asquith courageously quoted the deathless words of Parnell: “No man

has a right to set bounds to the march of a nation."

"ASQUITH AND ULSTER'S DISCONTENT."

"Defending the retention of forty-two members at Westminster after Home Rule is granted, Asquith remarked that the exclusion of the Irish members by Gladstone was the rock on which the Home Rule Bill of 1886 foundered. With regard to the discontent in Ulster, he insisted that to allow a minority of the Irish people to over-ride a majority would be to make democratic government impossible.

"Referring to Balfour's predictions that evils would flow from the grant of Self-Government to Ireland, the Prime Minister, recalled hearing Balfour predict, with equal confidence and in equally lurid language, the consequences that would follow from what the Tory leader then described as the most reckless experiment that political folly ever conceived, namely the grant of Self-Government to the Transvaal!

"THE SPELL OF A MALIGNANT CURSE."

"His peroration was a passionate appeal for the closing of the long-standing quarrel between Ireland and Great Britain. "It is no use now," said the Premier,

“to analyze the shortcomings of the past, or to attempt exactly to apportion, as though you were weighing it in a balance, the burden of blame on both sides, Not only upon one side, but upon both sides, bitter words have been spoken, bad things have been done.

“What has seemed almost from the first an unkindly fate has brooded over these two islands to frustrate their common life and to sever their natural unity. Time after time, when they were coming together, the web which seemed about to be woven of reciprocal interests and affections has been unraveled and torn asunder as though under the spell of some malignant curse. Let it be our part to exorcise once and for all these baneful influences, and to join two peoples meant to be one, whom the chances of history, the seeming caprice of fortune, and the follies and passions of men have kept apart, in a fruitful and endearing union.”

It is needless to add that the speech of John Redmond, the distinguished leader of the Nationalist party, was as worthy of him as of the cause which he so gloriously represents, and of the occasion. The following are a few extracts from his memorable speech on that occasion:—

MR. REDMOND'S SPEECH.

“Undoubtedly the speech of the debate

was that of John Redmond. He spoke under the influence of strong emotion, and the solemn beauty of his peroration affected his audience like glorious music swelling forth from an organ in some majestic Cathedral.

He declared that there was not a people or a country in the whole civilized world that would not welcome as glad tidings of great joy the announcement that the British nation had been magnanimous enough and brave enough and wise enough to undo an old national wrong. He made special reference to the desire with which this measure was awaited by the Irish in America, who believed they were driven out of their own country by misgovernment and oppression, and who had cherished in their hearts an admitted hostility to the British Empire, and the present Bill might go far to reconcile them.

"In the words of Mr. Gladstone, "the long period of time has once more run out, and the star of Ireland is mounting the heavens." An extraordinary scene of enthusiasm took place on the announcement of the figures, cheers being given for Asquith, Redmond and Parnell. When at length the demonstration subsided, the distant sound of cheering was heard—it was the London Irish, half delirious with joy, cheering the rending of their fetters.

Mr. Redmond reiterated what he had

stated during the debate on the First Reading of the Bill, namely, that the Nationalists accepted the Bill. He thought it would lead to the reconciliation of all the interests at stake, between the North and the South of Ireland. He declared that the Nationalists refused to regard Ulstermen as anything but brothers, and invited them to join with the Nationalists in the emancipation and the government of their common country. He went on:

"I believe that in spite of the House of Lords the Home Rule Bill is going to pass into law within the lifetime of this Parliament. The House of Lords, we know, is going to throw it out, but, although the Lords still have teeth, they cannot bite.

"For my colleagues and myself this is a very serious and solemn moment. Many of us have sat in this House with one single object in view for more than thirty years. We have met with disaster, defeat and discouragement, but never, even when faced with the tragedy and the loss of our great and incomparable leader, Parnell, did we despair of the arrival of this day."

"THE LONG FIGHT NEARLY ENDED."

"Then Mr. Redmond indulged in a retrospect of modern Irish history, with

its discouragements, its gleams of victory, its tragedies and its baffled hopes. Four generations of his own family, he said, had been sent to the House of Commons to fight for Ireland's rights, and now the end of the long struggle was in view. Centred in the Bill were the hopes and aspirations not only of the Irish in Ireland, but the hopes of millions of Irishmen in every part of the United States. His reference to the millions of the Irish race in America who were driven out by misgovernment at home and were hostile to the British, was loudly cheered.

"I believe, he continued, "there is not a people or a country in the civilized world which will not welcome as glad tidings of great joy the announcement that the British Nation has at last undone an old National wrong. In the words of the late William E. Gladstone, 'the tide has once more run out and the star of Ireland has mounted in the heavens.'

"This peroration was received with a sustained roar of applause, which was none the less fervent for the adroit insertion of the name of Gladstone in its concluding sentences."

"A UNION OF ALL CLASSES AND CREEDS."

"Although the financial provisions of the Bill are less liberal than expected,

they have come automatically to an end, and there will be no opportunity of revising them. We oppose the exclusion of Ulster from the Home Rule Bill on several grounds but the supreme objection is that nothing would compensate the Nationalists for the mutilation of their country. The Nationalists refuse to regard Ulstermen as anything but brothers and I invite them to join with the Nationalists in the emancipation and the government of their common country."

Perhaps the importance of Ireland's great victory will be better understood and appreciated from the following article in a recent number of the *Irish World*:—

The majority of one hundred and ten for the Home Rule Bill has a significance which will be better understood by comparing it with the votes given for the two previous Home Rule measures. In 1886 Mr. Gladstone's first attempt at securing an instalment of justice for Ireland was defeated by a majority of 30. Seven years later, in 1893, he made a second effort which was more successful, so far as the House of Commons was concerned. In that year the House of Commons, by a majority of 34, declared that Ireland should be invested with the right of managing her own affairs.

That is the condensed history of the

two previous Bills. From a minority to a majority vote of 34 showed the rising tide in favor of Home Rule twenty years ago. It is still mounting, as is demonstrated by the increasing vote at the different stages of the Bill just passed in the House of Commons. When it was first introduced last Spring, it had a majority of 94, which was increased to 100 on the Second Reading. The 110 majority on the Third Reading, carries with it a notification to the Orangemen of Ulster that their threats have not frightened the parliamentary representatives of the British democracy."

As the Home Rule Bill is one of the greatest measures that has ever been enacted by any legislative body, and one of the most far reaching for peace and good will, not only between Great Britain and Ireland, but for the lasting peace of the world, the reader will pardon me if I dwell upon it at some length.

As the Irish and English peoples are scattered all over the globe, and their relations to each other are constantly being embittered by the long standing enmities between the two countries, this measure, if enacted into law, and it looks almost like a certainty just now, will wipe out old scores and bring the two peoples together as friends and fellow-workers for the welfare of all.

Such being the case then, I here present an able account of the scenes and incidents on

the passage of the bill in the House of Commons from a staff correspondent of the *Irish World*, Mr Con O'Leary, from whose correspondence I have freely copied.

HOME RULE PASSED ON THIRD READING.

"House Of Commons Sends it With a Majority Of 110 To the House Of Lords. Tories and Unionists Dumbfounded At the Large Vote.—John Redmond Thanks Irish-America For Its Help In Carrying the Fight To a Successful Issue.—Bonar Law Declares Ulster Will Never Recognize the Measure."

"LONDON, Jan. 17.—Amidst scenes of fervid joy on the part of the members of the Irish Party, shared in with hardly less enthusiasm by the members of the Liberal and Labor Parties, and the Welsh and Scotch members, the third Home Rule Bill to be introduced in the House of Commons, and the second to pass that assembly, was passed by a vote of 367 to 257—a majority of 110. The majority consisted of 248 Liberals, 82 Irish Nationalists, and 37 Labor members

"AN IMPRESSIVE SCENE."

"When the figures were announced the

Nationalists, Labor and Liberal members arose and waving their hats and handkerchiefs, cheered Premier Asquith, John E. Redmond and the various Cabinet Ministers. Mr. Redmond, who is usually passive, was carried away by the great enthusiasm of his friends and entered into the spirit of the demonstration as effusively as they. Those who crowded the lobbies received the figures with another roar of welcome.

"Robert Cameron, Liberal member from Durham, who was in favor of the measure, insisted upon being brought from a sick bed to support the Bill, and was carried into the lobby. Edward J. Kelly, Irish Nationalist, left the Dublin Hospital and traveled to London attended only by a nurse. The only Nationalist absentee in the final voting was Joseph Patrick Nannetti, member for the College Green Division of Dublin. He was absent because he was stricken with paralysis while preparing to start for London.

"The passage of the Bill was the climax of fifty-two days' debate in the House of Commons, and for the eventful occasion every possible vote of every Party had been whipped up. No sooner had the result been announced than the Orange members resumed their "Will-Fight" tactics. Frederick E. Smith, the Orange firebrand from Liverpool, gave away the

whole case against the Bill. "If it were possible," he said, "to have a conciliation conference nobody would be better pleased than I."

"FIREBRAND SMITH HAS HIS SAY."

"The Orange leader covered this up by a lurid picture of the possible shooting of a hundred Orangemen by British troops with a thousand to take their place. But even the Tory Party was not responsive to such clap-trap oratory. Soon after Mr. Smith left the House of Commons, and at the head of a motley crowd marched to the Constitutional Club, the Unionists headquarters, where from an open window he said that the outcome would not be decided in the House of Commons, but in the streets of Belfast. To give light to the occasion, one of the members of the Club set fire to a copy of the Home Rule Bill.

"At the National Liberal Club several thousand members appeared, and affecting scenes were witnessed. It was here that the Irish leader, flushed with the heat of victory, made his way, supported by many Liberal, Irish and Labor members. He spoke gratefully of the assistance received from the Irish race in the United States and Canada, which, he said, had greatly helped him and the Irish Party to carry the fight to a suc-

cessful issue, remarking: "It is a proud day for them."

"MR. REDMOND'S THANKS."

"Later Mr. Redmond gave out the following statement:

"On behalf of the Irish Party and the Irish people, I tender to the Liberal and Labor Parties, to the Scottish and Welsh members and to their supporters, both in and out of Parliament, our gratitude for the fidelity with which they have championed to victory the cause of justice to Ireland. The passage of the Bill into a law is assured, and the effect of its operation in Ireland will be not only to inaugurate a new era of peace and prosperity, but to weld together Irishmen of every class and every creed in an indissoluble bond of brotherhood and of affection, for the promotion of the welfare and happiness of their Motherland. The granting of Home Rule will be hailed with enthusiasm by the friends of justice and of liberty, in every sovereign State in the world."

"Soon after the vote was taken, the Bill, tied up with green ribbons, and escorted by a delegation of Nationalist members, who were loudly cheered in crossing the lobby from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, was sent to the latter House, which had specially met to receive

the Bill. Here it formally passed its First Reading.

"The Tories were dumbfounded and all Parties were surprised at the large majority for the Bill, it being six larger than the normal Government majority, allowing for vacant seats. They were astonished, too, at the good order of the members, for violent demonstrations were expected and at the depressed speeches of Bonar Law and the Unionist leaders, who gave the impression of realizing that their game is up and of being ready to begin angling for any compromise to save the Orange face."

Home Rule being as already stated a matter of intense interest to the world at large, as well as to the Irish people at home and abroad, the reader will excuse the giving of some extended press notices of the passage of the Bill.

These will show how it is regarded by other than the Irish people and I need make no apology to my readers for these many extracts from the *Irish World* and other sources because they are so pertinent and cover the various phases of the subject so thoroughly they leave nothing more to be said.

The following from the *N. Y. Globe* is a fair sample of American opinion:

"The most significant thing in connec-

tion with the passage of the Home Rule Bill is that it would have passed if the Irish members had not participated in the division. The vote was 367 for the Bill and 257 against. On the affirmative side were 82 Irish Nationalists and on the negative side were 20 other members from Ireland. Home Rule thus had the support of 265 non-Irish members of Parliament and was opposed by 257 non-Irish members. It has a majority of the representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales as well as of Ireland

THE TORY CAMPAIGN OF ABUSE.

The Conservatives, as so often happens when a Tory Party finds that it is beaten, kept up their campaign of abuse and of incitement to disorder. Bonar Law practically invited Belfast and Ulster to rise in armed rebellion. Many an Irishman has languished in prison for saying things less incendiary than came from the lips of leading members of the opposition. But the violent screaming and threatening by scions of the aristocracy availed nothing. Democracy was in the saddle and would not be diverted from a measure of Democratic justice.

"You are told," said Gladstone in one of his Midlothian speeches, "that education, that enlightenment, that leisure, that high station, that political experience

are arrayed in the opposing camp and I am sorry to say I cannot deny it. I painfully reflect that in almost every one, if not in every one, of the greatest political controversies of the last fifty years, whether they affected the franchise whether they affected commerce, whether they affected the abominable institution of slavery, or what subject they touched, these educated classes, these wealthy classes, these titled classes, have been in the wrong.

“So it will be shown again with respect to Home Rule. An Irish Parliament will not be an instrument of perfect wisdom. The world is not able to get such. But it is based on the sound and enduring principle of the right of Self-Government.”

As the *Irish World* so well says:—

“Outside the ranks of the Orange faction in Ulster and of their Tory allies in Great Britain, there is not a word of adverse criticism. The good wishes of mankind are enlisted on the side of Ireland; against her are arrayed the bigotry of Orange lodges and the stupidity of Great Britain’s hereditary legislators in the House of Lords. The conjoined forces of insensate bigotry and blind stupidity will not carry the day.

They are engaged in a losing fight. They cannot block the march of progress. Our Motherland cannot be turned back on the path on which she has set her feet. In this her hour of triumph, which presages a greater triumph in the near future, her children in this and other lands send her their heartfelt greetings. All hail to her!

"It is just thirty-two years since Wendell Phillips wrote, at a time when Irish jails were crammed with Irish patriots: 'Ireland today leads the van in the struggle for right, justice and freedom. England has forfeited her right to rule, if she ever had any, by a three hundred years' exhibition of her unfitness and inability to do so. The failure is confessed by all her statesmen of both parties for the last three hundred years. Discontent, poverty, famine, and death are her accusers.' Such was the terrible indictment of English rule in Ireland, framed in 1881 by one whose nobility of soul endowed him with that clearness of vision which penetrates outward shows and gets at the heart of things. It was that gift which enabled Wendell Phillips to make this prediction, now verified, in seemingly the darkest hour when Parnell, Davitt and the other Irish leaders were behind prison bars like common felons."

In the words of Mr. Samuel Young, an

Irish Protestant Nationalist Member of Parliament, from Ulster, the real opposition to Home Rule Bill, comes from:—

“The ascendant minority making their last effort to retain place and power in Ireland.

“That is the whole thing in a nutshell—Orange Ascendancy wants to hold on to place and power, and Home Rule it knows will stop all that and give all Irishmen a square deal. Against this there is an impudent Orange Ascendancy “argument” noted by Mr. Young: “The Irish people fought for civil and religious liberty from 1800 to 1829, and he saw the tar barrels on the hills when the Act (Emancipation Act) was passed in 1829. They fought for the Commutation of the Tithe Act in 1836, and they also fought in 1869 for Disestablishment which is now to be copied in Wales. They fought the land law question in 1878, 1881, 1886, and in 1903, yet to be copied by Great Britain, and now they are to experiment in proportional representation in the formation of their Senate in Dublin. These were the people who were unfit to manage their own affairs.”

CHAPTER III.

FIGHT CONTINUED

In Mr. Justin McCarthy's account of the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, in 1893, there is a beautiful reverie, in which he brings on the stage a host of Ireland's patriots and martyrs, all of whom suffered, and many of whom died to make her a nation:—

“The Irish benches were crowded with my enthusiastic colleagues rallying in exultation around the chosen leader of their country and their cause faded—so it seemed to my reverie—from my sight, and in their room a legion of mighty and mournful phantoms presented themselves to me. Phantoms of many epochs and of many ages rose in a great cloud together, and my vision following the lines of their dim ranks caught here and there with the feverish rapidity of a dream, well-known and venerated countenances dear beyond all phrase to Irish memories.

“The white-haired, blind, old man, whose stalwart frame was bowed by sorrow, and whose sightless gaze had in it such a wistful pathos, was not the exiled Earl whose grave in Roman earth is now the shrine of so many pilgrimages? Near him, his soldier's face writhed with pain

or poison, came the great kinsman of his house, Owen Roe. Sarsfield, with the blood of Landen on his breast and hand: Talbot of Tyrconnell's weary, haughty face; Roger Moore, handsome, chivalrous, devoted; William Molyneux, with the "Case of Ireland" in his grasp; the small fervid figure of the Dean of St. Patrick's with "fierce indignation" blazing in his wild, dark eyes; Lucas, with his volume clasped in his embrace; the gallant bearing of Charlemont; Grattan, in the uniform of the Volunteers; Flood, restless and repentant; Curran, swaying with stormy eloquence—these and many others floated before me in proud succession.

"With them were yet livelier and loftier presences; Edward Fitzgerald, his comely body gashed with more scars than Caesar, and by baser hands; Tone, with that grim wound in his throat; Bagenal Harvey and Father John; the Brothers Sheares in death as in life undivided; and Emmet, with the livid circle round his young neck. On they came, the long line of martyrs who had died to defeat the fatal principles which the Act of Union formulated, and who seemed now to rise from their graves at the sound of the knell of that principle."

"All this ghostly army, multiplying in bewildering rapidity, swayed and floated silently forward, their pale faces shining with wild emotions of hope and exulta-

tion and hate. Then a great cry rose up, a fierce, tumultuous yell of triumph and salutation; the grey hosts seemed to shudder at the sound, and swiftly vanished as the clamor rose, to their place of shades. St. Stephen's was itself again, and the assembled, living, breathing multitude were—the majority of them—cheering themselves hoarse in welcome of Mr. Gladstone, who had just risen to his feet.

“As I listened to the orator, and heard the impassioned words in which an English Minister, for the first time in the face of all the world, recognized the rights of the Irish people, I felt that, indeed, the mighty dead might well be content with that day's work, and might, indeed, if it were permitted to them, quit their resting-places to share in the triumphs of a day which marks an epoch in Irish history—an epoch which seems as if it were destined to end the old evil order of repression and revolution and open the new order of freedom and of hope.

In connection with alleged fear of persecution by the Orangemen, and to which I have referred at length in another part of this work, I may here state that more than one half of these martyrs of Irish liberty mentioned in Mr. McCarthy's *Reverie* were Protestants!

It is true, the Lords rejected the bill after only four days debate, and by a vote of 326 to 69!

Although the majority is large, it is 121 less than they gave against the Gladstone Home Rule Bill in 1893; and their vote for the bill, on the present occasion, was 28 greater than for the former!

This shows that even the Lords, who have by the way been the bitter and unrelenting enemies of every measure, not only for the benefit of the Irish, but for the British masses as well, are beginning to see the light, and are coming to realize that their days are numbered, that the old order is passing away, and that the world does move after all!

In fifty years from now, possibly in less, if the House of Lords should continue as part of the legislative branch of Great Britain it will in all probability be looked on as a long worn out Institution; and the world will wonder that even such a conservative people as the British could endure so long such a mouldy and mildewed body, especially as it serves no useful purpose, if it ever did!

Mr. William Jennings Bryan, our Secretary of State, recently voiced the popular sentiment, regarding the House of Lords; and the great achievement of the Irish National party in practically destroying the Lords further power for evil, by the amendment limiting their veto, power, when he said—:

The degradation of the House of Lords is due to its opposition to the Home Rule

Bill, which brought about an amendment to the English Constitution, thus making the concurrence of the House of Lords unnecessary after a Bill has passed the House of Commons a third time.

The Irish can point to this as one of the greatest achievements in history, having brought to a virtual end hereditary rule in the British Empire.

and further added:—

“The fighters for Home Rule are fighters of a world-wide battle, and those who oppose it have sounded the death knell of hereditary government.”

If the Irish Nationalist party had done nothing more than to pull down and destroy forever the unlimited governmental power of the Lords, that hoary headed anachronism of power, privilege and abuse, it has done enough to deserve the everlasting gratitude, not only of the Irish people but of the British as well! For the Lords have always barred the way to all true progress, not only in Great Britain, but wherever their power could reach! And this is especially true when the Liberals are in power. Even when the Tories, their own party, have charge of the Government, no reformatory measure can be put through except after the most intense pressure.

On the other hand, they have always favored and clamored for every governmental wrong and abuse, both at home and abroad. As a few instances, I may mention that the

war against the American Colonists in 1776 to 1783 was largely their work, as was the second war against the Americans from 1812 to 1814, as well as the letting loose of the privateers, Alabama and Shenandoah, and other vessels of a similar character, to prey on our ocean commerce in the 60s.

At this time, when the life of our nation hung trembling in the balance, the Lords, as a body, gave almost their entire sympathy and moral support to the South!

They also, as one man, supported and upheld the infamous war by which Great Britain forced opium on the Chinese nation some 70 odd years ago, and Great Britain, to its discredit be it said, is still forcing it on the Chinese, in spite of a treaty that stands in the way, and the protest of the New Chinese Republic!

Needless to add, the Lords were always the cheerful instrument for enacting, and enforcing, all that fiercely wicked English legislation for Ireland that has been put into force since the beginning of the English occupation.

It is, therefore, a most hopeful and cheering sign of the times that the English Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, has given notice, in the House of Commons, that he intends soon to bring in a bill to abolish the House of Lords, as at present constituted!

God speed the day!

It is evident, therefore, that if the present Liberal government should remain in power till June 1914, the Home Rule Bill, after its

third reading by the Commons next year, will become a law, by the signature of the king, in spite of the Lords efforts to prevent it

The general opinion of the Lords action is well expressed in the following extracts, one from a recent number of the *Irish World*, the other from London *Daily News*:—

“FUTILE OPPOSITION.”

“The House of Lords did what was expected of it. On Thursday, January 30, it rejected the Home Rule Bill by a vote of 326 to 69. It was an exhibition of anti-Irish hatred on the part of England’s hereditary legislators that, if given a few years ago, would have killed the measure with which Ireland’s hopes are bound up. The Lords, however, have been shorn of the power they once possessed. They can now delay, but not permanently defeat justice to Ireland. But even they have been affected by the spirit of the times, as is shown by a comparison between the vote of the House of Lords on Mr. Gladstone’s Home Rule Bill of 1893, and that by which the Lords rejected the Home Rule Bill of 1913.

Twenty years ago 460 Lords constituted the jury that determined the question whether Ireland should have the management of her own affairs. Only forty-one members of that jury voted in favor of Ireland. The remain-

ing 419 were loyal to the anti-Irish traditions of their caste. On Thursday of last week 395 Peers were assembled to pass judgment on the Home Rule measure that had received the approval of the representatives of the Democracy of Great Britain and Ireland. Of this number sixty-nine went on record as approving the action of the House of Commons; 326 stamped it with their disapproval. One of them, Earl of Halsbury, thus bemoaned the altered circumstances that rendered the vote of the majority of the Lords less decisive than that cast in 1893: "The position of the House is now that Peers could express their views and reject the Bill, but they could not prevent it from becoming law." It was the lament of privilege over the loss of power that in the past was so often employed to defeat the will of the British Democracy.

Last week the Home Rule Bill mustered twenty-eight more votes in the House of Lords than a similar measure did two decades ago. It shows that "the light is spreading" even in the citadel of hereditary privilege.

"A TEDIOUS FARCE."

"The London *Daily News and Leader*, commenting on the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords, says:

"It is because the Lords, by identifying themselves with a political faction, have given up genuine debate and law-making and reduced their proceedings to a tedious farce that there is no effective force behind their speeches. The Parliament Act has not done this thing; the Lords have done it themselves. The Parliament Act merely registered the National recognition of the fact and the National determination to limit the degree to which a perverted chamber could be harmful until it made way for better men. With sorrow the Unionist leaders have had to admit that though they can suspend a great reform with their votes they cannot provoke the slightest sympathy with their actions."

Many think because of the furious and long continued opposition of a few demagogues in Ulster, that that Province, at least, should be, excluded from Home Rule control! Perhaps the very best explanation I can give of the political condition in Ulster today is that given in a recent speech in the House of Commons by Mr. Asquith:—

Speaking on an amendment to the Home Rule Bill, offered by Sir Edward Carson, that Ulster be excluded from the operation of Home Rule, he said:—

"What is 'Ulster?'" Mr. Asquith asked the question and he answered it. "If this amendment," said he, "is carried the

whole of Ulster will be excluded. What is Ulster? I have here a map in which Ulster is colored and I find that dividing Ulster according to its representation between those who are in favor of and those who are against Home Rule the whole of the North-west, the whole of the South, and a large part of the middle of Ulster (the County of Tyrone) is almost unanimously in favor of Home Rule. That is a geographical fact about which there can be no doubt. The whole of Donegal, which returns a united Nationalist representation, the whole of Tyrone out of which three Divisions as compared with one return a representation in favor of Home Rule, the whole of Monaghan and Cavan, part of Fermanagh, and parts of Armagh and Down, all have a preponderating Nationalist population and are represented by members in favor of Home Rule and they would be excluded from the benefit of Home Rule. In point of fact there are only two counties in Ulster which return a uniform Unionist representation namely Londonderry and Antrim."

The *Irish World*, commenting on Sir Edward Carson's demand, well says:

"The cool impudence of Sir Edward Carson and his eighteen Irish Tory Parliamentary colleagues in writing to Prime Minister Asquith asking him to exclude

Ulster from the Home Rule Bill, would be amazing if these gentlemen were not already so well known for that feature of character. They first—in the beginning of the discussion on the Bill—proposed and demanded the exclusion of four counties--the Northeast corner. Mr. Asquith was not frightened by the threatening letter with its suggestions of “momentous consequences” and “righteous resistance” to the Bill, if passed with Ulster included.

“Of course that is the way the Home Rule Bill will be passed. It will be passed with Ulster in it and every part of Ulster. The Bill will include all Ireland. Not one spot on Irish soil must be excluded. The Irish Nation claims Ireland from shore to shore as her inheritance and every inch of that inheritance must be under the governmental jurisdiction of Ireland’s National Parliament.

“That is the National demand of Ireland and it is recognized and conceded in the Home Rule Bill. Sir Edward Carson after making nothing of his threatening letter to Mr. Asquith proposed an amendment to the Bill, excluding all Ulster. The amendment was defeated by a majority of 97, which was the response of Great Britain as well as of Ireland to the audacious Orange claim that Ulster with its Home Rule majority in a majority of its counties should be left out of the Home Rule Bill.

“This important point was well expounded and emphasized by Prime Minister Asquith in his speech on the Carson amendment—a speech showing that Mr. Asquith thoroughly understands the situation in Ulster and is thoroughly familiar with the facts of the case.”

Speaking at a great meeting in Dublin, Mr. Asquith put the Ulster opposition in still another way; as follows:—

But to say that a minority, before any actual wrong is done, or can be done to them, upon the suspicion or apprehension that in defiance of the forms of an act of Parliament and the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament they may at some future time be injured or oppressed; to say that a minority may be entitled, on such grounds, to defeat the constitutional demands of the vast majority of their fellow countrymen and to frustrate a great international settlement, is a proposition which in my opinion does not and never will commend itself either to the conscience or to the judgment of the British people.

That is our answer. That is the statement of our case in regard to Ulster.

“The body for which the above stated claim is made is a minority both in Ireland and in Ulster. The latter fact,

proved now at the ballot box in Derry, had, of course, already been well-known in the North. There has been no anti-Home Rule Ulster in existence."

Ulster, which these fanatics would now rend to pieces and tear from its love and allegiance to Ireland, has been in the past, as I have stated elsewhere, the fruitful mother of innumerable Irish martyrs and patriots, and the majority of her people are today as intensely Irish and patriotic as their fathers, and as anxious for Home Rule!

In answer to Mr. Carson and his braggart crew, we Irishmen say: Ireland wants every inch of her soil, every single inch, North, South, East and West; Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connaught; all are needed to make up an Ireland, one and indivisible, now and forever!

She wants all her children too, of every class and creed, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile; all are needed to build up the new, the Greater Ireland, the regenerated Ireland that is coming soon; an Ireland that will not only rival but surpass her old time self in all that is truly great; in learning, in truth, in justice and in right.

Mr. Ford's paper, the *Irish World*, which has made such a magnificent fight for Ireland, in season and out of season, and which has raised so much money for the Irish struggle and for the Nationalist Party, commenting on the outrageous demand for the exclu-

sion of Ulster from Ireland, because that is really what the amendment meant, says:—

“In Ulster as a whole there were, roughly speaking, nine Protestants to every seven Catholics, and it was not possible in the face of these figures, to justify the exclusion of the whole Province of Ulster. In the Bill the Government had dealt with Ireland as a whole, and believed what was beneficial to Ireland as a whole could not, in the long run, be injurious to any part of it.”

And just here, it seems fitting that I should quote some lines from one of Ireland's best beloved sons, one who loved her dearly and suffered for her cheerfully, the late lamented John Boyle O'Reilly:—

All thy life has been a symbol:
 We can only see a part;
 God will flood thee yet with sunshine;
 For the woes that drench thy heart.

“The first glimmering of the dawn that precedes the noonday splendor of Irish legislative independence has been hailed by the Irish race and by all true lovers of freedom with an outburst of joy. In the National House of Representatives at Washington and in the State legislatures of New York and Nebraska resolutions of congratulation over the initial

success of the Home Rule Bill fittingly reflect American sentiment. The American press is unanimous in its expressions of approval of the action of the House of Commons."

Since the above was written, almost all states in the Union have through their respective legislatures, passed resolutions of sympathy and congratulation. Our public men, with scarcely an exception, have shown like sympathy and friendship: Governors, Lieut. Governors, U. S. Senators and Congressmen, as well as others in public life.

This is true also of Canada and Australia and all other British self governing possessions.

Ireland has the sympathy, respect and good will of all the world, excepting the Tory Party of Great Britain and a small faction of Orangemen, in one or two of the Ulster counties. These try to make up in bluster and fury what they lack in numbers.

"Mr. Thomas W. Russell, M. P., a high official of the Government in Ireland and a Protestant, said at a recent meeting in London that "the Orange mob of Belfast have been rioting periodically for the last half century, with nothing to riot for save a ferocious hatred of their fellow-countrymen—men who are Roman Catholics. Let them," he continued. "not talk to him about the religion of Belfast. There is no religion in Orange tyranny; it is downright savagery."

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREAT DERRY VICTORY.

While telling of the passage of the Home Rule Bill in the Commons and the exciting and stirring events connected with it, I find there is good news from Derry; gloriously good news, for this city, an old time Tory stronghold, has suddenly swung herself into the Nationalists ranks, and after one of the most exciting elections ever held, even in Ireland, has elected Mr. David C. Hogg, a Scotch Presbyterian, as its Nationalist representative to the British House of Commons!

The election of such a man by a constituency almost wholly Catholic gives the lie direct to the charge of Catholic intolerance! And he himself says:—

I have lived fifty years in Ireland, and, in my opinion, an Irish Parliament will not endanger Protestantism in any form or manner.

The capture of this Tory citadel by the Nationalists leaves only Antrim to the Orangemen; and even there a large portion of the people want Home Rule!

This election in Derry is one of the most important and far reaching in its effects of any that has taken place in Ireland for a hundred years, and all the more so, occurring as it did on the very day after the rejection of the Home Rule Bill by the Lords!

On that account, I shall give more space to this event, than it would otherwise call for. I shall begin by giving some correspondence from Ireland to the *Irish World*, as this able writer, Mr. O'Leary, was on the ground at the time and as his descriptions are most graphic:—

I here quote them:—

“WILD DEMONSTRATIONS ON ANNOUNCE-
MENT OF VOTE.—ULSTER RETURNS
HOME RULE MAJORITY.”

“LONDONDERRY, Jan. 31.—The Irish Home Rule party won a notable victory over Unionists in the election of a member of Parliament here yesterday.

“The poll, which as usual was very close, resulted as follows: David C. Hogg, Nationalist, 2,699; Col. H. A. Pakenham Unionist, 2642. Majority, 57.

“Majorities in Londonderry elections have always been small, ranging between 26 in 1892 and 105 in 1911.

“The seat has been held since 1900 by the Marquis of Hamilton, recently going to the Lords by the death of his father, the Duke of Abercorn.”

“Wild demonstrations followed announcement of the result of polling. There was a deafening tornado of cheers and hisses, accompanied by firing of revolvers in air, while green and red handkerchiefs and Union Jacks fluttered over the surging crowd.

"Nationalists sang "A Nation Once Again," to which the Unionists responded with "Rule Britannia" and "God save the King."

"Mounted and foot police had to clear the way and escort Mr. Hogg and Col. Pakenham on their way to their hotels.

"Rival crowds of Home Rulers and Unionists came into contact at one point, and the police had to charge and disperse the people.

"This victory of the Nationalists gives them a majority from Ulster, in the House of Commons.

"Extraordinary efforts were made to bring every Unionist to the polls.

"Voters had been brought from America and other distant places. The sick, dying, halt and blind were taken to the polls.

"One Unionist voter dropped dead in his home, while a motorcar with a doctor was waiting to take him to the booth.

"Another, a paralytic, could utter only half of Pakenham's (the Unionist candidate's) name, but his vote was allowed. Still another voted in guise of an invalid. He proved to be a man wanted by the police.

"There was fear of violence among the "Last Ditchers," but the constabulary had little to do.

"Several anti-Home Rule voters had been brought from the United States, Canada, and other distant places.

"Col. Pakenham, the defeated Unionist candidate, commandant of the London Irish Rifles, is a descendant of Gen. Pakenham who suffered a crushing defeat at the battle of New Orleans, La., January 8, 1815, by the American Army led by Gen. Jackson, the son of Irish parents."

THE NEWLY ELECTED NATIONALIST
MEMBER FOR DERRY IS
A LIFELONG ANTI-UNIONIST.

He is a member of the firm of Hogg and Mitchell, shirt manufacturers, Derry. He is a son of the late R. V. Hogg, Glendearg, Melrose, Scotland, where he was born in February, 1840. Though a Scotchman by birth, he has been a half century in Ireland. In 1868, he had a notable experience in electioneering in Derry. He was then supporting Serjeant Dowse, afterwards Baron Dowse, who, as a Liberal candidate, defeated Lord Claude John Hamilton, the Conservative. In the attack made on the old City Hall by an Orange mob Mr. Hogg was savagely assailed, was stabbed, and had his head badly injured. His brother, the late Adam Hogg, unsuccessfully contested Derry against Sir Charles Lewis.

Even his opponents speak of him with respect. The "*Derry Standard*," one of the local Unionist organs refers to him in the following terms: "Mr. Hogg is a Presbyter-

ian Home Ruler, and is held in very high esteem throughout the community. Although we differ from him in politics, we consider the Nationalists are singularly fortunate in their choice. Mr. Hogg will certainly conduct his campaign with the dignity and freedom from rancor which have uniformly distinguished him."

The following is from the same writer, dated a day or two later, and as it deals with some new features of the great Derry victory, and throws fresh light on the fight, I make no apology for giving it here.

"THE ULSTER VICTORY."

DERRY'S DRAMATIC ANSWER TO THE
BOASTS AND BLUFF OF THE ORANGEMEN.

(From Our Correspondent.)

CORK, February 2, 1913.

HOGG	2.699
PAKENHAM.....	2.642

NATIONALIST MAJORITY	57
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"Such was Derry's dramatic answer to the boasts and bluff of the Orange garrison. After having been twelve years outside the Nationalist pale, the Maiden City has surrendered to progress and reason and right—it has been wedded to Home Rule. It has hastened from the clutch of the black forest of Unionism, and has found the National highway. So

confident were the Orangemen of retaining the seat that they fixed the polling for the day after the Home Rule Bill was rejected by the House of Lords, in order that the voice of the Ulster commoner might echo the wanton action of Ireland's arch-enemies, the Peers, Far different has been the answer of Derry. It has made a dramatic rejoinder to their insolence.

"It has completed the discomfiture of the Northern apostles of anarchy, and burlesqued the pretensions of Lord Londonderry, Carson, Craig and that crew to represent the feeling of Ulster. It has completely overwhelmed the last garrison of National reaction, and blown Ulster insurrections and Ulster provisional governments sky-high. By its action Ulster is represented by a Home Rule majority in the House of Commons. When the blatant voice of hooliganism was wont to roar "Ulster will be right," it little knew how soon it would come right in the Nationalist sense. Yes, Ulster is right at last.

"PARALYZING STROKE TO ORANGEISM."

"Eighty-five out of the hundred and three members from Ireland are now Home Rulers, and eighty-two and a half per cent of the Irish representation is armed with a mandate to fight for the

liberties of the country. If we except the two members elected by the Tory graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, there is not a single Unionist sent to Parliament from the three Southern Provinces. And by virtue of Derry's magnificent justification of itself and Ireland, seventeen Home Rulers go to Parliament to challenge and defy the claim of sixteen.

The importance of the result cannot be over-estimated. A paralyzing stroke has levelled Orangeism and all its works and pomps. The last argument against Home Rule has been smashed into smithereens. The tin cannon, wooden guns, provisional manifestos, covenants, and the thousand volumes choke-full of libels, may now be consigned to a bonfire in the streets of Derry, for the only part of Unionism that can survive this tremendous Orange holocaust is its ashes.

"THE DEFEAT OF DESPOTISM."

"Ulster Anarchy has been given its quietus, its death blow. Irish Unionism is a creed sickening to the grave. Its greatest stronghold but one has surrendered, and the flag of Home Rule floats proudly today over the historic walls of Derry. It symbolizes the defeat of a despotism, and heralds the certain fruition of Irish hopes. We have heard the

last of the partition of Ulster. Derry has assured her destiny—Ulster's part is in the Irish communion unto the end of time.

"Lord Lansdowne told his plutocratic friends in the Lords that Ireland was growing indifferent to Home Rule. There was but one issue in the Derry election and the lesson taught by the result is that even Ulster is growing enthusiastic on the great question of questions, and that the majority of her Parliamentary divisions are eager to be free. The Home Rule representation is now as great as it was in the palmiest days of the Parnell movement; but the tottering cause of Irish Unionism is in the weakest position that it ever was. In future we may talk of our opponents as the Ulster *minority*. Lord Lansdowne already was incautious enough to be truthful—he spoke of "the Ulster fraction."

"PEARL OF THE IRISH NATION."

"The completeness of the Derry triumph took the most sanguine Nationalists by surprise. A single figure majority was the utmost limit of the Nationalist hopes: the Tories forecasted a double-figure majority for Pakenham. The repeated conquests of the past made them arrogant and vainglorious. There was no such word as defeat in the lexicon

of the successors to the Prentice Boys of Derry. In 1900 the Unionist majority was 67. In 1903 and 1906 the Unionist was returned unopposed. In the election of January, 1910, the Unionist majority was 57, and in December, 1910, it rose to 105. The seat, therefore, seemed the poisoned grounds of Unionism. It has been transformed into the pearl of the Irish Nation. The Catholic vote was 2,679 and the Protestant 2,671. Three Catholics—soldiers of an English regiment—were known to have voted Unionist so that twenty-three Protestants must have voted for Hogg.

“The poll was an exhaustive one. If the cemeteries were not polled, the incurable hospitals were. The halt and maimed, the sick, dying and exiled walked, drove or were pushed to the poll. Two Australians voted for Pakenham, an Ulster-Canadian voted on each side, a New-Yorker voted on the right side, of course. The Australians were on the high seas when the vacancy was announced, but all the others made the journey specially. Very many outvoters came from various parts of England and Scotland. Several outvoters from America did not reach their destination in time. All the local shipping companies had to keep their vessels in port, for the sailors refused to go to sea until they had voted.

“SURVIVORS OF A GREAT BATTLE.”

“The blind and helpless, invalids and cripples, filed into the booths like survivors of a great battle answering the last roll call—as, indeed, it will be the last call for many. George Atechson, aged eighty-six, who fought in the Crimean War under Col. Pakenham’s father, was carried into the booth to vote for the son of his old commander. An old man named Flood, who fought for the North in the American Civil War, was also carried to the poll. He is eighty and paralyzed. He could not make the cross on the voting paper, but there was a fire in his eye as he gasped out “Hogg” to the presiding officer, and when his card had gone into the ballot box he gave a deep sigh and was carried home to what will probably be his death bed.

“But he returned happy, for David Hogg shook him by the hand and thanked him for his great courage. But for the importation of twenty-seven Scots Fusiliers, who left the Derry station last year, but whose names remained on the voting lists, the Nationalist majority would have been even greater. It was believed by the Unionists that the soldier vote would ensure the return of their candidate.”

“EXHAUSTIVE NATURE OF THE POLL.”

“The total number of votes on the reg-

ister was 5,445. The total number of votes polled was 5,351. As there were ten votes spoiled owing to being inaccurately filled in, that left only 94 votes unpolled. Thirty-three voters have died since the register was struck. Twenty-one voters were at the ends of the earth, and could not reach Derry in time for the election. Six voters on each side were too ill to be brought to the poll, and by mutual agreement of the two parties were not disturbed. Over ninety-eight per cent of the votes on the register and $99\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of available votes were polled. The exhaustive nature of the poll gives the Derry election an easy record in this connection.

"The declaration of the result was attended by scenes of considerable excitement. An enormous crowd had assembled outside Derry courthouse, the Nationalists carrying green flags, while the Unionists sported Orange favors or waved Union Jacks. The Nationalists sang "God Save Ireland" in chorus, and cheered continually for David Hogg. The Orangemen responded with the singing of "God Save the King" and the dirty anti-Papal jingle, "Dolly's Brae."

"LAST SHOTS OF ULSTER REBELLION."

"When the figures were read out, the jubilation of the Nationalists was intense,

and the cheering having subsided, "A Nation Once Again" was sung in mighty chorus, and as the "Orange crowd sought to conceal their mortification by singing "The Walls of Derry," the two tunes seemed to blend into artistic symphony. For Orange and Green had carried the day. When Hogg appeared on the courthouse steps, he was saluted by a salvo of cheers; albeit a few stones and bottles were flung by some of Pakenham's braves. But these missiles were regarded as the last shot of Ulster rebellion, and fortunately did no damage.

"The new member for Derry was escorted in triumph to St. Columba's Hall, the Nationalist stronghold, where he addressed a great crowd of enthusiastic supporters. The leading priests also addressed the meeting, and as the result of the united appeals the Nationalists took their victory quietly, and in spite of much provocation did not retaliate on the hooligan crowd who, deeply mortified, tried to conceal their wrath by a show of typical Orange "forbearance." They are incensed by the fact that a spirited little band of Protestant Home Rulers gave Hogg a majority whose size has dumbfounded them.

"A BOMBSHELL TO ANTI-HOME RULERS."

"The result was awaited in every

corner of Ireland and Great Britain with breathless excitement. It was a bomb-shell in the ranks of the anti-Home Rulers and struck them to the very heart with consternation and dismay. No election for many a long day has aroused such universal interest. It has caused as much excitement as the Passing of the Third Reading of Home Rule, and was an emphatic answer to the House of Lords.

"The stars in their courses seem to be fighting for Irish liberty, and it seems that nothing can go wrong with Home Rule, which has assumed the figure of destiny and a law of nature that it will require a miracle to withhold. Ulster no longer bars the way. She sends a Home Rule Majority to Parliament in the Home Rule year. For the past few weeks the Derry election was the supreme subject of public interest—now it passes into history. It cannot fail to convince Great Britain, and one may almost find it in one's heart to pity Carson as he totters ignobly to his fall."

"SPECIAL EDITIONS OF BRITISH PRESS."

Special editions of the London newspapers carried the result of the election all over the British metropolis. Derry has succeeded in surprising England and confounding Belfast. In the House of Commons the allied armies celebrated

the result with vehement applause, and the British Tories, who were awaiting the expected announcement of the return of Pakenham, had to drink the gall alone, for the Carson band kept away from the House in the dark and bitter day of defeat.

CHAPTER V.

HOW IT APPEARS TO OUTSIDERS.

The Derry election having stirred up a world of interest, not only among the Irish people, but among peoples of all races who love liberty, it may be well to show how it appeals to American lookers on, so I copy the following from the Portland (Oregon) *Telegram*:

HARD STRICKEN "ULSTER."

It was a blue day in Londonderry for the "Buffs" or the "Blues," whichever color designated the Tory cause. The very heart of revolutionary Ulster was left torn and bleeding. But yesterday Ulster was a nation, proud in its defiance of every Home Ruler, whether sitting in the halls of Parliament up in London, or bearing a stout Irish heart over the vales and bogs of Erin, anywhere from Galway to Dublin or from Donegal to Waterford.

"There was a covenant in Ulster, solemnly protested as in the days of Cromwell, and the ark of it was to be borne by the high-minded gentry and place holders to the repulsion of the King's soldiers, if necessary, rather than submit to the dominance of Irish liberty on Irish soil. Such was the status of Ulster yesterday.

"But today without the King's soldiers, and with no bloodshed, save possibly a broken head or two, Home Rule is triumphant in the very citadel of revolt, the ark of the covenant is broken, and Ulster as a belligerent against the power of Britain is wiped off the map.

It must have been a bitter pill for those who had to swallow it. That such misfortune might be forced upon these Ulster patriots from without, the world expected; that it should spring from within, and by the election of a Home Rule member from Londonderry, staggers all credulity."

That we may get at the heart of the Orange opposition to Home Rule, and in a nutshell, I give the following question, asked in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Carson, one of the firebrand Unionist leaders, and John Redmond's answer to the same:—

TWO QUESTIONS

"Are you going to coerce the North-east corner of Ulster to live under a rule they detest (meaning Home Rule)?"

"That was a question put to the Government in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Carson. The question was answered by John Redmond, who said:

"What did you do in the case of the Union (the destruction of Ireland's Par-

liament 112 years ago)? Remember that the ancestors of these men (some of the present Ulster Tories) were opposing the Union, and you forced the whole country under a rule they detested."

"In further answer, Mr. Redmond asked a question, addressing the Tory Party: "If this Bill (the Home Rule Bill) fail, will you coerce the rest of Ireland to continue to live under a system of rule established at the Union, and which they loathe and have loathed from that day to this?"

"Mr. Redmond's question was not answered, from which it is fair to infer that by the Tories the true answer would be regarded as very awkward.

In the above question, and answer, there is no mention of the long centuries of coercion of the whole of Ireland by the ancestors of the people whom Sir Edward represents, a coercion so fierce and bloody, so inhuman and fiendish that it is hard to believe it could have been invented by human beings, and worse still, enforced by human beings!

From the following interview, reported by a special correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph*, it will be seen that the modern Orangeman does not differ from his ancestor, except in degree and methods of displaying his bigotry:—

“A SAMPLE OF ORANGE BIGOTRY.”
ORANGEISM IN ACTION.

“The special correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph* in a dispatch from Derry, pillories the Orangemen of that city by the simple process of telling plain unvarnished facts. This he does through the medium of an interview with Mr. Tillie, the head of the largest manufacturing firm of that city, which employs fifteen hundred hands. He is neither Catholic nor a Home Ruler, and yet he has been placed under Orange boycott. The head and front of his offending is that he refuses to sign the Orange “covenant” and thus enroll himself in Carson’s Army of “last ditchers.” He is also guilty of the “crime” of not discharging his Catholic employees at the dictation of the Orange lodges. In enumerating the charges that make up the Orange bill of indictment he says: “I refused to sign their silly ‘covenant’. I refused to take any part in the proceedings by which Sir Edward Carson and his friends have made Ulster Unionism a laughing stock; and above all—and this has been the worst of all my crimes—out of 1,500 people I employ at least 1,300 are Roman Catholics.”

The London *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in utter astonishment put the question: Do I understand you to say,



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL
First Leader Irish Party.

Mr. Tillie, that Derry Unionists think it wrong to employ Catholics?" The answer to this brings out the true character of the Orange bigots who object to Home Rule for the alleged reason that they, forsooth, might be made the victims of religious persecution! Here is Mr. Tillie's answer: "Undoubtedly they do so and any man who does so freely (give employment to Catholics) and cares nothing about the religion of the people he employs, so long as they render him good service, is marked down." Here we have a practical exemplification of the spirit of Orangeism. It is a spirit of religious hatred that will stop at nothing to wreak vengeance upon those who have aroused it."

At a meeting which Mr. Redmond addressed in Scotland he put the Orange position as follows:—

"WHAT WOULD THE SCOTCH DO?"

"If the Catholic minority in Scotland objected to Home Rule for Scotland and declared they would fight against it if proposed, what would the Scotch majority say or do? The question is easily answered. It caused great amusement when Mr. Redmond once put it at a meeting in Scotland. He repeated it as an "example" in his speech the other day

at Coventry and there was much laughter at the idea.

"They (said Mr. Redmond referring to Orange claim) will not permit Home Rule for Ireland, and they say plainly to you, the people of England, that if both your parties here, Liberal and Tory, united in passing a Home Rule Bill, it would not affect them. They still would stand out and by force of arms would prevent the will of the Kingdom from being carried out."

"That is the claim of the minority in Ireland and the minority in Ulster. An 'absolutely intolerable claim,' as Mr. Redmond describes it—a claim which goes "deep down into the whole system of democratic and representative institutions."

"Except on the principle of majority rule representative institutions, of course, could not exist. But the Orange party in Ireland want only one representative institution—Protestant Ascendancy.

From an able, and well informed writer, I give an extract showing that Derry is not as great a stronghold of Orangeism as is commonly supposed:—

"To those who are familiar with local conditions, it is well known that Derry is not overwhelmingly Protestant, as the Orangemen would have the world believe. Out of a population of 40,760 the Catho-

lics number 22,923, or fifty-six per cent of the total. The minority, however, by means of the system of plural voting and by the control of the electoral machinery, were enabled to outvote the majority. Hence the Catholics of Derry, though constituting fifty-six per cent of the population, were in a minority of about thirty on the registry. Such was the political situation on the eve of an election which was recognized by the friends and foes of Home Rule as big with future consequences. Mr. David Hogg, the Nationalist candidate, in his address to the electorate, stated the issue in these clear cut terms: 'By electing me you will enable me to support the enactment of this great measure, which will bring unity and prosperity to Ireland, and also to support the Government Bill for sweeping away the absurdities of the present franchise and for giving one vote only for every citizen.' "

Ireland, in her demands for justice, knows neither creed nor class, and this is so well known to all who care to know it that a Philadelphia paper of recent date gives the following:—

"The victory in Londonderry was not won on religious lines, for the whole question of home Rule is outside the domains of sect or of class. In London-

derry this is especially so. And the people there decided at length to make common cause with their countrymen in Leinster and Munster and Connaught, and stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the now winning fight for home rule.

"It is alike significant of their sincerity and of their patriotism that in their maiden effort for political freedom all religious lines should be obliterated, and that at a mass-meeting of the Nationalists of the city, at which Catholics and non-Catholics attended, the nomination as candidate should be offered Mr. Hogg, a loyal and devoted Presbyterian, who accepted it and was subsequently elected by the Catholic and non-Catholic voters of the borough. Among those who most vigorously advocated the selection of Mr. Hogg was the Catholic bishop of Derry, Doctor McHugh, whose act reconciles with the absolute assurance that home rule does not mean Rome rule, and that under its regime religious intolerance on the part of the majority would be simply conspicuous by its absence, even if no safeguards against it had been provided in the home rule bill, which the English and Scottish peers have decided that the men of Derry do not want.

"The selection and election of Mr. Hogg gives the lie to the oft-repeated assertion that all industrial Ulster is opposed to home rule. Mr. Hogg is the largest

employer of labor in Londonderry and one of the largest in all Ulster. Nearly 2000 names are on the payroll of the enormous business he has built up, so thus he takes his place with Lord Pirie, Sir Hugh Mac, Mr. Shillington and Mr. Glenning and the other merchant princes of Ulster, Belfast included, who support the principles of home rule for their country."

I have devoted a great deal of space to the Derry election because the Unionists have claimed that the whole of Ulster and, of course, Derry, as part of it, were bitterly opposed to Home Rule in any form, and would fight to the death rather than submit to it.

They based their opposition largely on the fact that the Unionists in the House of Commons numbered 17 out of a total for Ulster of 33, or a majority of one!

Now the Derry election has changed all this, and turned the majority over to the Nationalists! and so the Orange bubble has burst, leaving the Unionists in a minority in what they claimed as their stronghold!

The people of the old city seem to fully realize that the question of Ireland's right to self-government is not, and should not be, limited to any one county or province, to any one class or creed. They see in it a great national question in which the interests and well being of all the Irish people are concerned, and they have decided accordingly.

It is in the very nature of things then that the scattered children of the Gael should rejoice at the prospect of the Old Land's coming to her own again. We can shout out with the old Irish woman at the meeting in Australia recently:—We are Irish all the same!

“IRISH ALL THE SAME”

(At a meeting in Sydney, Australia, recently, Mr. Higgins, M. P., asked the Irish-born and Australian-born respectively to show hands, remarking that the latter were a majority, when an old Irish woman, sitting in the front row, interjected, amid an outburst of cheering: “They're Irish all the same.”)

Oh bear we gladsome tidings back
 O'er ocean's vast expanse,
 'Twill flush the cheek, 'twill thrill the heart,
 And Erin's soul entrance
 Oh tell her that in far-off lands
 The “Young Race” bless her name,
 And tho' they never saw her hills,
 “‘They're Irish all the same.’”

Oh tell her when her widow'd voice
 In plaintive accents calls
 They muster in the swelling throng
 In foreign streets or halls,
 And, join in prayer, in pledge and vow,
 And like their fathers, claim
 An Ireland free for Irishmen—
 “‘They're Irish all the same.’”

Oh tell her tho' her heart's blood flows
 In every foreign course,
 Tho' gushing currents drain the fount
 Of nationhood's deep source;
 Tho' tainted springs would fain dilute

And null the patriot's aim,
That taintless blood begets its kind,
In "Irish all the same."

Oh tell her that by Coogee Bay,
And Yarra's placid stream,
On Hudson's banks and Afric's plains,
Her stalwart children teem;
That, Phoenix-like, regenerate
And fanning freedom's flame,
They're pledged to flaunt it on her shore—
"They're Irish all the same."

God bless that martyr land which gave
Such bounteous blood and worth
To freedom's cause and patriot ranks
In every land on earth!
And may it be for filial hands
Upon her brow of fame,
To place the crown of liberty—
"They're Irish all the same."

God bless the faithful exiles who
Remain true Irish still;
God bless the "Young Race" sprung from these
And staunch thro' good and ill.
But woe to those, both old and young,
Who skulk away in shame,
While Ireland's deadly struggle's waged
By "Irish all the same."

M. C. O'HALLORAN.

On the evening of the Derry election, after the battle had been fought and won, the enthusiastic Nationalists paraded the streets singing Thomas Davis's stirring patriotic poem:—A Nation Once Again!

It was most fitting that the song should be heard by the hosts of bigotry and prejudice,

for Davis was himself a Protestant, but one who believed in the justice and fair play of all his countrymen, Catholic and Protestant! A man who spent practically his whole life, night and day, in his efforts to make Ireland a free and independent Nation!

A NATION ONCE AGAIN.

By Thomas O. Davis.

When boyhood's fire was in my blood,
 I read of ancient freemen,
 For Greece and Rome who bravely stood.
 Three Hundred men and Three men.
 And then I prayed I yet might see
 Our fetters rent in twain,
 And Ireland, long a province, be
 A nation once again.

And, from that time, through wildest woe
 That hope has shone, a far light;
 Nor could love's brightest summer glow
 Outshine that solemn starlight:
 It seemed to watch above my head
 In forum, field, and fane;
 Its angel voice sang round my bed,
 "A Nation once again."

It whispered, too, that "freedom's ark
 And service high and holy,
 Would be profaned by feelings dark,
 And passions vain or lowly:
 For freedom comes from God's right hand,
 And needs a godly train;
 And righteous men must make our land
 A Nation once again."

So, as I grew from boy to man,
 I bent me to that bidding—

My spirit of each selfish plan
And cruel passion ridding;
For, thus I hoped some day to aid—
Oh! can *such* hope be vain?
When my dear country shall be made
A nation once again.

Not much fear of Catholic intolerance, or persecution here, for Davis knew, as do all intelligent and honest men, that the Irish are all the most liberal and generous in the world in all matters of conscience.

The following excerpts from a speech delivered by John Redmond in England recently tells its own story as to Irish and British intolerance:—

“A CONTRAST.”

“As to the charges by English Tories of religious intolerance against Irish Catholic Nationalists, John Redmond, speaking recently at a great meeting in Dalston (London), put a question in this way:

“I want to know what right has this country (England) to charge Irish Catholic Nationalists with being prone to intolerance? We have in our Irish Party, and always have had, a large proportion of Protestant members elected by Catholic constituencies. When this country wants to talk to us about Catholic intolerance, I answer by asking how many Catholic members are there returned by English Protestant constituencies, although there are over two millions of

Catholic residents in Great Britain? 'Let him that is without sin throw the first stone.' "

"The answer to Mr. Redmond's question and the contrast he suggests are shown in these figures:

"Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) sends 567 members to the House of Commons, and of this number only eight are Catholics.

"The Irish Party has 85 members, and of this number seven are Protestants, all elected in Catholic districts.

"No need to emphasize the moral thus presented as to religious tolerance in Protestant England and Catholic Ireland.'

CHAPTER VI.

COMPLETE ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT FIGHT TO DATE.

The following able account of the fight for Home Rule in the Commons, and in the House of Lords, in all its stages, showing the different divisions and majorities for it on all occasions from its first vote in the House of Commons on January sixteenth to its last rejection, by the Lords, in July, nineteen hundred and thirteen, by James T. Sullivan, will be found instructive and interesting:

When the English Parliament was prorogued last week at London it brought to an end the third chapter of the twentieth century fight for Home Rule for Ireland. There now remain two additional chapters before the battle that has enlisted the efforts of so many brilliant men on either side is finished.

The three chapters that have added pages to the world's history comprise first, the passing of the Parliament Bill that checked the power of the House of Lords; secondly the passing of the Home Rule Bill by the Liberal Government in 1912, and thirdly, the passage of the Bill again this year. Chapter four will make the passage of the measure in 1914 and the final chapter will be written when the Irish Parliament convenes in Dublin in 1915.

"When that time comes—and it is now a foregone conclusion apparently, Irishmen the world over will have every cause for rejoicing, but none will have greater cause for jubilation than the thousands in America, who year in and year out since Parnell began his propaganda back in 1880 with the Land League movement have contributed moral and financial assistance to Erin.

"Gladstone made a brave fight in 1886, but the prejudice was too strong at that time to get the measure a second reading even. But the venerable statesman tried again in 1893 with better success, for he succeeded in having the House of Commons pass the measure. Still the Lords proved the stumbling block and with a majority of 378 it was killed.

"OUT OF TOUCH WITH PEOPLE."

"That was not surprising to those making the fight. Here again an entire generation later finds the Lords killing the bill in two successive years. But when an analysis is made of conditions it shows that the Lords are out of touch with the popular feeling in Great Britain, and the results that followed are ample proof that when the people are determined to rule they can find means of sweeping away opposition.

"The great mass of people do not realize

what a momentous piece of legislation was placed to the credit of England when the so-called Parliament Bill was passed. Thoughtful students of government see in that measure a real check against revolutionary propagandas in the future, for it is one of the big assets in a rule by the people.

"When future historians write about it, if they are sincere, they cannot fail to give praise where it rightfully belongs, that is to the Irish Nationalists, whose battle for Home Rule brought the issue to a head, and whose votes later aided in making it a reality.

"It was on the issue whether the Lords or the people should rule that the Liberal Government was put in power with its big majority when the parliamentary act was placed before the people in the last general election. And the masses of Great Britain are friendly to Home Rule if the aristocracy as represented in the Lords are opposed to it.

"HOME RULE A REALITY."

"Once that measure was passed Home Rule began to loom up as a reality on the political horizon, and it carried with it other measures of benefit to England, Wales and Scotland. The Liberal Government swept into power on a tidal wave of popular Government, has kept faith with the people ever since.

"On April 11, 1912, the Home Rule Bill was introduced in Parliament. The first test of the Liberal strength was shown on April 16, when it passed the first reading by a vote of 360 to 266, a majority of 94. It gained strength as it went along, for the vote on the second reading, May 9, was 372 to 271, by a majority of 101.

"June 11 it reached the committee stage. It went along its way then while section after section was given consideration. Like a bombshell out of a sky, however, came a snap division when on one of the financial sections, the vote was 228 against to 206 for it. Of course, the Unionists in seeking every infinite particle of hope to defeat the Bill became jubilant.

"But a snap division, which is sometimes a carefully laid trap of those antagonistic to the majority in Parliament, has been robbed of its real power compared to the past when ministers would resign and have Parliament dissolved, necessitating another election, if a negative vote were passed even on a trivial matter. In the parlance of every-day talk common sense prevails now where dignity ruled so overwhelmingly in the past as to make government sometimes top-heavy."

"UNIONISTS DISAPPOINTED."

"Moreover, as a few days before this

snap division the Liberal majority on a similar section of the Home Rule Bill was 121 and of the entire 670 members of the House but 434 voted, leaving 236 absent, of whom but 40 were anti-Home Rule members, Premier Asquith simply girded on his armor and proceeded to fight with greater determination.

"There was no dissolution of Parliament, simply a delay of about a week, during which the Unionists had their pent-up anger while seeing the bill roll along over them despite their plans and orations.

"As an added incentive, to make them more angry, was a cable from Boston by Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, National treasurer of the United Irish League, sending \$10,000 to the Irish Nationalists with a few words of good wishes.

"So on Dec. 12 the bill passed the committee stage and the Ministry had a majority of 138 votes. The Christmas recess checked the Bill until Dec. 30, but it was a foregone conclusion then of what would follow, and so, on the re-assembling of Parliament the measure reached the report stage Dec. 30.

"This year marked the culmination of the efforts of those behind the Bill, for on Jan. 16, by a vote of 367 to 257, it passed the third reading, giving it a majority of 110, and this majority was continued on the usual motion to reject

when the vote stood 368 to 258. The House of Commons was through with it for the time being.

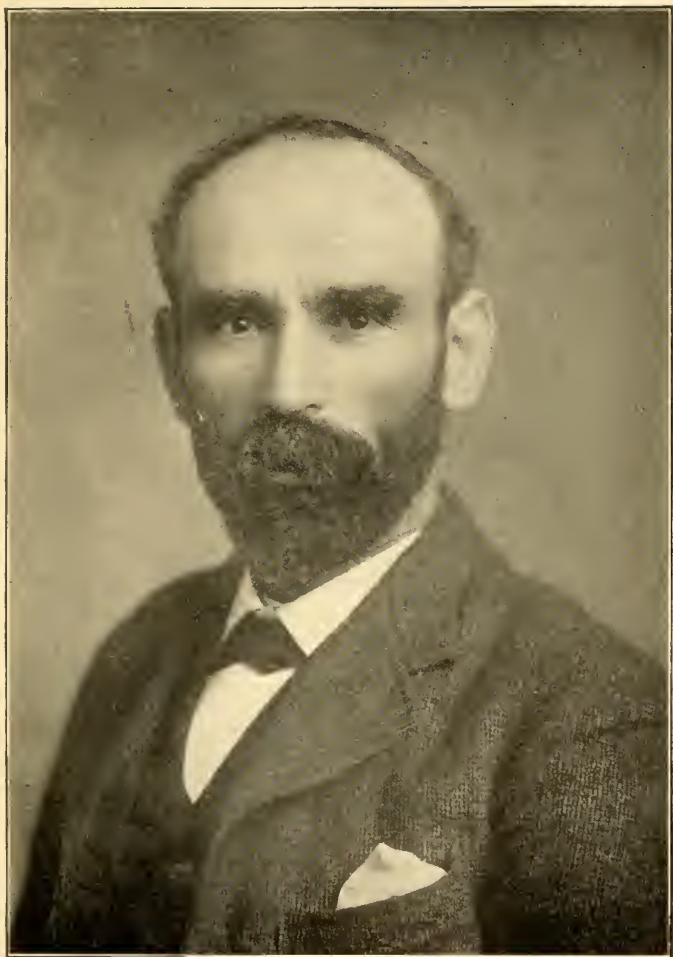
"The Bill went to the House of Lords, where it was quickly rejected on Jan. 30 by a vote of 326 to 69, a majority of 257. This was an improvement, though not very much so, over what happened a generation previously when Gladstone's bill was rejected by a majority of 378."

"FIGHT BEGINS AGAIN."

"The fight was begun all over again on April 1, last, when the Bill was re-introduced to the Commons practically as when it was first put in. On June 2 it received its second reading with a vote of 368 to 270, or a majority of 98. On July 1 it passed the committee stage automatically.

"This year there was no minute during the progress of the Bill when its friends were napping. The snap division taught them a lesson. Other snap divisions were planned but were check-mated. When a motion to reject was made on July 7 the majority was increased to 109, the vote being 252 to 243, and it passed the third reading then without a division.

"It was then sent up to the Lords, where it was refused a second reading by a vote of 302 to 64, the majority being 238. This time the Marquis of Lansdowne



MICHAEL DAVITT
Founder of the Land League.

thought he discovered a plan to dodge the issue by presenting a motion that the House do not consider the measure until it had been submitted to the people. In order words, he wanted a referendum vote on it.

"Under the new Parliament Bill it will be introduced again next February, 1914, and it should pass its various stages in the House of Commons, for without any General Election the Liberal Party will remain in control with its same majority. Then it will go to the Lords, where it will be rejected again undoubtedly. It will not matter one way or the other whether the Lords pass or reject it, for it will have passed its three successive Parliaments with two years intervening between its introduction and final passage, so it goes then to the King for his signature."

"NO VACATION FOR MEMBERS."

Now that Parliament has been prorogued it does not mean that every one is going to have a vacation until the Legislative bodies convene next February. True, there will be no General Election to worry any one, but the Home Rule measure is going to be fought to a finish between the Unionists and the Liberals, particularly the latter's Irish representatives.

"Up and down the length and breadth

of Great Britain and Ireland Sir Edward Carson and his band will travel making speeches, disseminating literature, sending communications to the newspapers and doing everything possible to arouse antagonism against the measure. They have already started on their campaign and it will continue until Parliament meets again.

"The one great aim is to try to force dissolution of Parliament in some way after it has convened, and before the Home Rule Bill can be passed, for they make the claim that no provision has been made in the Parliament Bill for a dissolution in reference to a measure that must be passed in three successive sessions.

"There is no lack of funds for this campaign. To let it go along unchecked would be unwise. Therefore the burden of combating the force of the Unionists falls mostly on the Irish Nationalists. Into every city, town, village and hamlet where the Unionists go members of the Irish Party will follow. And what has been stated by the former will be contradicted by the latter. That is why no one of the Irish members can come here this Fall to make speeches."

"LAST CALL FOR FUNDS."

"Now all this costs money. So the duty

of supplying the sinews of war falls upon the members of the Irish race the world over. This country pledged at the last convention held at Philadelphia \$100,000 and there remains about \$40,000 yet to be sent across the water. There is no doubt that it will be raised before the year is over.

"The passing of the Parliament Bill and the introduction of Home Rule, the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, and the Bill against plural voting, so that one man will have but one vote, presage a new era of real rule by the people, growing stronger from time to time.

"Premier Asquith's plans to further shear the power of the Lords shortly by reducing their voting strength, eliminating hereditary powers to some extent, will bring that body in closer touch with the people and make it a more stable body, one that will not stand in its own light, and whose vetoes of Legislative acts passed by the Commons will have some weight.

"Meanwhile Ireland and her sons and daughters must wait until 1915 before "Finis" is written in its new fight for freedom. It has cost much, but it will be worth the price."

It is evident that Home Rule is becoming more popular every day in England, especially since its last rejection by the Lords, in July,

and is in fact sweeping everything before it, as shown by the great Liberal victory in the late by-election in Chesterfield, where Mr. Barnet Kenyon, the Liberal candidate, was triumphantly elected by over 400 more votes than the Liberal received in 1910, and this notwithstanding the fact that the Tories made a tremendously strong and bitter fight, and on the one supreme issue of Home Rule!

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CHAPTER VII.

A NEW DANIEL COME TO JUDGMENT!

Among other opponents of Home Rule, I find an able English writer, a Mr. Sydney Brooks. This gentleman wrote a short time ago a series of articles entitled "The New Ireland," which were published in the *North American Review*.

Through practically all his articles, Mr. Brooks concedes the thorough inefficiency of British rule, its almost complete breakdown, the enormous load of overtaxation which Ireland is compelled to carry, and with it all, as he says, one of the poorest educational systems in the world; and yet, almost incredible to relate, he wants it continued!

No native rule could possibly be worse than he admits British rule to be, and must of necessity be better. Still in justice to Mr. Brooks, it should be stated, he tries very hard to be just and fair and even sympathetic at times, as can be seen from the following extract from his writings:—

"It will be more convenient to round off this superficial picture of Ireland's condition by noting some of the more obvious results of her connection with Great Britain. One of these results is that Ireland, though a poor country, is obliged to maintain one of the most ex-

pensive governments in the world. She is administered by an amazing medley of overmanned, overlapping Boards, with their headquarters in Dublin Castle. It is a system that has most of the vices of a bureaucracy and very little even of its mechanical efficiency. A Russian bureaucracy in Finland could not be more utterly divorced from the sympathies and confidence of the people it rules. The stronghold of a small minority, of a single class, almost of a single creed, overrun with placemen impenetrable to Irish ideas and Irish needs, uncontrolled by Parliament in London or by any representative body in Ireland, and presided over by a Viceroy who maintains that most demoralizing and contemptible of all social institutions, a sham Court,—I scarcely know what merit it possesses or what faults it lacks. With a slightly smaller population than Scotland, Ireland is saddled with nearly three times as many officials, a police force twice as large and costing \$5,000,000 a year more for its upkeep, and a judiciary three times as expensive in proportion to population as the judiciary of England and Wales. An example is thus set of jobbery and extravagance that permeates the whole conduct of government in Ireland. Another result of the legislative union with Great Britain is that Ireland is grievously overtaxed. It is not that

taxes are imposed upon her which are remitted in England, Scotland or Wales, The exact contrary is the case, certain taxes, mainly of an insignificant character, which are collected from the other parts of the United Kingdom, being remitted in favor of Ireland. Irish overtaxation is due to the fact that the capacity of the people to bear taxation is below that of the English, the Welsh or the Scotch, and that identical imposts fall upon her shoulders in consequence with a disproportionate weight. She contributes about one-eleventh of the British revenue, whereas her taxable capacity is not estimated to exceed one-twentieth; and the burden falls all the more heavily on her poor, inasmuch as over seventy per cent. of the amount extracted from her is derived from indirect taxes."

This is his picture of the result of British control in Ireland, and if there be anything worse in the wide world in the way of government, it would be very hard to find it.

In the above extract, Mr. Brooks admits enough to condemn forever any claim that British rule might have for further continuance. And he says elsewhere, he has not told anything like the whole story; and he has not, as I shall show later on.

He tells us while Ireland's population is less than that of Scotland, the government officers are almost three times as many; the

police force nearly twice as large, and costing five millions more for its maintainance; and a judiciary three times as expensive in proportion to population as the judiciary of England and Wales. In a word, English government in Ireland, is the most expensive in the world. Nor are we to suppose this enormous army of officers are needed because of lawlessness in the Irish people. The very reverse of this is true, for there is no country in the world with a like population so free from crime and criminals as Ireland, as shown by the fact that at nearly all the general assizes the judges are presented with white gloves by the sheriffs, indicating there are no criminals to be tried.

In the above account, Mr. Brooks does not mention that semi-military body of men known as the Royal Irish Constabulary, consisting of a force from ten thousand to twelve thousand men. Nothing like this body is found in any part of Great Britain. It is not easy to define their duties, which are supposed to be the enforcement of the revenue laws. The real duties, however, seem to be to act the part of country detectives, to keep a quiet look out on the private lives of the people.

It is needless to add, this half military body requires a great deal of money for its upkeep: and gets it, as it is a favorite with the powers that be. The Irish people must maintain, and that well, these pampered pets. Queer, is it not, especially when we are so often told

that under the British flag all are treated alike? It is safe to say, if Ireland had charge of her own affairs, most of these men would be obliged to find some honest employment, and they as well as the country, would be the better for it.

THE IRISH SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

As Mr. Brooks so well says:—There is nothing so vital to the well being of a Nation as Education. Let us see his account of how Great Britain attends to this supremely important matter in Ireland:—

“There is nothing more vital to the well being of a nation than its educational system. Ireland has no educational system; it has merely an educational chaos. The defects of the primary schools may be seen on the very surface of the statistics. With about the same population as Scotland, Ireland has about twice as many schools and over 3,500 more head teachers. The inference that she is therefore twice as well educated is not, however, a sound one. The Irish percentage of illiteracy is twelve times as high as the Scottish figure. The explanation of these anomalies is very simple. The fierce and historic conflict of sects in Ireland has stimulated each denomination to provide its own schools. Thus, in a village just capable of supporting one good school you will find two,

three and sometimes four. The Church of England will have one, the Presbyterians another, and the Catholics will require two—one for the boys and one for the girls. In this way a total of nearly nine thousand schools is easily reached. Over five thousand of them are attended by pupils of one sex only, and in the remainder one faith or the other is usually in a great majority, a "conscience clause" protecting the religious susceptibilities of the minority. The results are that the Irish primary schools, being far in excess of the requirements of the population, are among the worst built and the worst equipped; their management is wholly in the hands of the clergy; their teachers are miserably paid; the children play truant two days out of every five; and each successive generation is insensibly familiarized with the idea that sectarian exclusiveness is one of the natural conditions of civilized life. Redundant schools, starved and ill-taught teachers, clericalism in unchallenged control, an almost total lack of local interest, a curriculum wholly divorced from the economic needs and realities of the country, and, to crown all, a National Board of educational amateurs, nominated by Dublin Castle, insensible to Irish ideas and representations, deliberating in secret and decreeing without either consultation or explana-

tion—such are the outstanding features of the Irish “system” of elementary education. Nor are the secondary schools in much better plight. There are in Ireland very few of those noble endowments which are the glory of England and America.”

He continues:—

“The primary, and intermediate schools are ludicrously imperfect, the latter being managed by an independent board of their own, whose contribution to Irish education is a costly extension of the pernicious system of payments by results.

“With technical instruction only a beginning has been made; and all I need say at present of the state of higher education is, that there is but one university with any pretension to be judged by the standards of modern scholarship; and that one is the rallying point for Protestantism! and therefore shunned by the Catholics, who form three fourths of the population.”

“Clearly from the above, it was time the Irish people, as soon as they were freed from the Penal Laws, and had the means, should take as far as possible the education of their children, into their own hands; and they have done it.

“The *London Times*, one of the most bitter and fiercest enemies of Irish Nationality in the world, on last St. Patrick’s day, published

an Irish number, treating everything on which it touched in a most friendly and sympathetic spirit. This is what it said concerning educational matters in Ireland:—

“IRISH CATHOLICS AND EDUCATION.”

“In its St. Patrick’s Day“ Irish Number.”

“*The London Times* gives much and high credit to the Catholics of Ireland for their work in education as soon as, by the partial relaxation of the Penal Laws, it became possible for them to take any practical concern in educational matters. What the condition as to educational facilities was at the time for Catholic and Protestant in Ireland the *Times* states briefly and fairly.

“At the beginning of the last century,” it says, “the Protestants of Ireland were well provided for educationally. They had Trinity College, Dublin; they had the Royal Schools, the Erasmus Smith schools, diocesan schools, ‘the Charter’ schools, the schools under Kildare Place Society, all well endowed, and all conducted on strictly Protestant principles.”

“The Catholics, on the other hand, had no endowments and were receiving no financial aid from public sources except the then small grant to Maynooth College. Whatever schools they had were built and supported out of their own slender resources. The first grant

of public money for primary education, in a form at all acceptable to Catholics, did not come until 1831."

"Long before any public funds were forthcoming," says the *Times*, "the teaching orders (of the Catholic Church) whether of men or women had been at work building and equipping schools, and providing education, both primary and intermediate, not only in the large centers of population, but also in many country districts. It can safely be said that the educational work of these orders would compare not unfavorably with similar work done at that time in England or in Protestant schools in Ireland. When tested later on by the inspectors of the (Government) National Board, it was found that the schools of the teaching orders more than held their own as compared with the other schools throughout the country."

After paying a glowing tribute to the religious orders and their great work for education, the *Times* says:—"They were instituted between 1791 and 1827; and would seem to have come into existence to meet the educational wants of the times." There is something very striking in this springing up of these six teaching orders within a short period in a country as small as Ireland. The simple facts were, that the time had come when the Irish Catholics were at liberty to open schools, and these six orders simulta-

neously, as it were, came into being to help them do so. To an Irish Catholic, it might seem as if some of the seed shed by the old monasteries and church schools had suddenly sprouted, and bore fruit."

These are noteworthy words coming from the *Times*, which for generations, from its first number in fact, has been especially bitter and hostile to everything Irish and Catholic. This paper would never admit heretofore the Irish were fit for self-government, and now it practically concedes all it has so strenuously denied in the past.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLISH TAXATION IN IRELAND.

When we Irish have made charges against English rule similar to those made by Mr. Brooks, as we have for centuries, we were laughed to scorn and told we were falsifiers and sentimentalists; that we had the very best government in the world, as well as the most economical, in fact an ideal government; but such was our innate cussedness, nothing could satisfy us, not even the blessedness and luxury of British rule! Mr. Brooks shows that whatever British dominion may mean elsewhere, in Ireland it is one of the poorest and most extravagant in the world. As a further proof of this, I may mention that the total amount of taxes raised in Ireland in 1907 were \$47,500,000, or about double what well informed men think would be necessary under a native Parliament. Of this sum \$38,392,000 was for Ireland itself, while \$10,000,000 were taken away to be spent for other than Irish purposes, that is to say for imperial uses; and in some of these, at least, Ireland had not the slightest interest. Worse still, a great part of this money was spent in the prosecution of the war against the Boers, an enterprise in which the Irish Nation had not only no interest, but one to which three fourths of the people were opposed, and all this money taken from poor impoverished Ireland for great, wealthy Great Britain.

The late Mr. Gladstone, when introducing the Home Rule Bill in 1893, declared the cost of Irish Government per head to be double that of England. This one fact is, in itself, a sufficient condemnation of English rule, and enough to justify the change for Home Rule.

Mr. Thomas W. Russell, Vice President of the department of Agricultural and Technical instruction, a gentleman who held important office in Ireland under a Unionist administration, and who is neither Irish nor Catholic, gives some of the minor abuses of English control in Ireland. I introduce this because it throws a side light on government abuses, as showing how the great majority of the people are ignored, and nearly all the high offices given to a favored few.

Is it any wonder these grafters should object to Home Rule or indeed to any just rule.

“Of the six great officers of state at the Castle, five are Protestants. There are sixteen Superior Court Judges and thirteen of them are Protestants. Of the host of highly paid officials in the Local Government Board Land Commission and Agricultural Department not one-fourth are Catholics. The three Commissioners of Public Works are all Protestants. The Resident (paid) Magistrates and police officers are largely Protestants. In fact, through the whole



JOHN DILLON, M. P.
East Mayo.

official hierarchy the story is the same. Leaving salaried offices and coming to positions of trust (honorary offices), what do we find? The Privy Councillors and Lord Lieutenants of Counties and cities are almost exclusively Protestants. The predominance of Protestants in the magistracy is enormous."

It is very easy to understand, in view of these unjust conditions, the terribly fierce opposition to the granting of self-government to Ireland by the ascendancy party, by the small clique that holds the nation by the throat.

In the past they have held nearly all the offices of honor and emolument as they do today, and they hate to let go their grip. It is often said by unfriendly critics that Ireland's grievances are largely sentimental; in fact almost entirely so; and have no solid ground to rest on. This is one of the stock charges, and is made so often by those who do not know, or want to know the facts, that they believe it themselves. Even Mr. Brooks makes it, and this, too, in spite of the fact that he has himself given it the most positive and direct contradiction in a number of places in his writings. To some of these, I have already called the readers' attention. For instance, when he shows the gross extravagance, the load of overtaxation, the inefficiency and the wretched system of education, and so on. If these are not prac-

tical grievances there can be none anywhere. Then there are Mr. Russell's charges bearing on very practical matters indeed, showing how the representatives of three fourths of the people are almost entirely barred from office in their own country, and especially from all the important, the higher offices. Yet we are told, we really have nothing at all to complain of, that we have only imaginary grievances.

Let us examine this matter of overtaxation a little more, for it is a vastly important subject, particularly in a poor country like Ireland.

Taxation is as far removed from sentiment as possible. It deals only with the practical, with the material, with dollars and cents.

Some years ago, in 1884 I think, a Royal Commission was appointed in Great Britain, to investigate certain important fiscal matters, and, among them, to show the amount of money which the different parts of Great Britain, England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as Ireland, were paying into the imperial exchequer annually. The Commission was composed of fourteen members, the ablest financiers to be found.

Though there were but two Irishmen in the body it reported unaminously that since the so-called Union in 1801, Ireland had been overtaxed, and paying greatly in excess of her just share, and since 1853 an average of \$13,500.000 a year more than her share.

Leaving out the excess paid between 1801

and 1853, a total of fifty two years, and taking only the overcharge from the latter year until now, it is seen that Ireland has paid over and above her proportionate share of imperial taxation, between three or four billions of dollars. Practical enough this surely, and not a sign of sentiment. I can almost imagine I hear the reader say, "but surely there has been some redress; a portion of this money, at least, has been returned." Not one cent; but ten million dollars more have been added to Ireland's share since, making a grand total of twenty three millions and five hundred thousand dollars more than she ought to pay as her portion of the share of the white man's burden. In one of the articles of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, it was expressly stipulated that the debts of the two contracting parties should never be united, and for the best of reasons; for, while the debt of Ireland at the time was only a little over one hundred million dollars, that of England was two billion two hundred and thirty million dollars or about twenty two times the debt of Ireland!

It was also agreed that Ireland should never be asked to pay more than her means would warrant.

Both these conditions were and are being broken. The debts of the two countries were united in 1817. Since then, Ireland has become responsible for England's enormous debts, principal and interest, and, as Mr. Brooks shows, while her resources are only

one twentieth those of Great Britain, she is compelled to pay one eleventh of the taxes! Stupendous as was the British debt at the time of the Union, it was comparatively small to what it has since become!

England's present enormous debt, it is hardly necessary to inform intelligent people, was chiefly contracted during the last two centuries, while carrying on the many wars she then waged in all parts of the world, wherever there was territory or plunder to be secured, but chiefly during the two wars against the Americans, the Revolutionary, and the other war against them from 1812 to 1814; her wars with the great Napoleon ending at Waterloo in 1815, and last, but not least, the Boer war a few years ago.

And just here it seems fitting that I should interrupt the matter of Irish taxation for a few moments to refer to another subject that demands attention here.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGLISH EFFORTS FOR AN AMERICAN ALLIANCE

During the Colonial war, just referred to, this country was poor and weak and had few friends, at least at first, and a strong and powerful enemy, England. She, not content with the ordinary usages of war, employed the savage indians against the colonists; paid them so much per scalp for those of men, women and children.

In the second war from 1812 to 1814 our condition as to strength and prosperity was not much better than in the earlier days, and we still had that same powerful and implacable enemy to contend against; England.

In the two years this second war lasted England, true to her old time methods, ravaged our coasts, burned our cities, destroyed the Capitol at Washington and all the public buildings, as well as all the places on the coast her forces could reach.

At the time of the Civil war in the 60s, our country had become strong and powerful, rich and prosperous, a rival on sea and land to the great European nations; and again we had an enemy at our gates: England! Always England!

She had now become jealous of us as a rival in trade and commerce. Besides the moral effect of our great Democratic institutions

was tearing away the foundation of her Aristocratic system and threatening to destroy it.

For all these reasons, Great Britain wished to destroy us, and did everything in her power to that end. Everything short of actual open war. Sent out her Alabamas and Shenandoahs and other semi-pirate vessels to prey on our commerce, and drive it from the ocean; and succeeded too. And to such an extent that to this day our ocean carrying trade has not recovered from the blow then received.

That the Civil war was prolonged at least two years by England's material aid and sympathy to the South, is well known to all.

Today America is great and mighty and powerful; among the greatest and mightiest in the world, and all the big nations are tumbling over each other for her friendship.

Strangest of all, England is too! And as a consequence there is a hullabaloo of sound and fury from her friends, both in Great Britain and here; shouting about "hands across the sea," "blood being thicker than water," "a common language, literature and bible," and so on, besides the claptrap and humbug of the so-called one hundred years of peace.

It may be asked what all this has to do with the Irish question? Much, for we Irish are always grateful to the great nation which opened wide its gates to receive us, and gave us a refuge and a home when driven like wild beasts from the land of our fathers. And we want to warn and caution her against the "Greeks bearing gifts," against the

nation which under the guise of friendship, is trying, by a thousand and one agencies, to get the United States into something, anything, that can be presented to the world as American British Alliance!

It may be said that England has had a change of heart since the Civil war and has repented in sack cloth and ashes. There are some uncharitable people in the world, however, who say that England's relations with some of the great European countries are not too friendly, especially with Germany, and that fact, they say, explains John Bull's sudden and fawning love for Uncle Sam.

Mr. Carnegie tells us this British love is so deep, the British people will never be happy again, never rest contented, until the United States are reunited to Great Britain! And then, he adds, in the last edition of *Triumphant Democracy* that the reunion of the United States with Great Britain is as sure as the rising of the sun to-morrow! When it comes, Carnegie tells us, the United States will fight England's battles, defend her on land and sea, be responsible for most of her public debts, a large portion of which was contracted in the wars already referred to against the Americans, and open wide our markets to England's goods, free of duty.

Lest the reader should think I am romancing I here give Carnegie's very words:—

“When the Union is restored it will be upon a basis of uniting also the National

debts as they stand, and making all a common obligation of the Union, so that the United Kingdom would be relieved at once of the greater portion of its National debt, and of at least one-half of all its present heavy taxation, even if no reduction of expenditure resulted from having one general government.

"An Anglo-American Reunion brings free entry here of all British products as a matter of course. The richest market in the world is open to Britain free of all duty by a stroke of the pen.

"I do not hesitate to say that Reunion would bring with it such demand for British products as would tax the present capacity of Britain to the utmost.

"Were Britain part of the Re-United States all that she would be interested about in Europe would be fully secured; namely, the protection of her own soil and the command of the seas. No balance of power, no occupation of Egypt, or any similar question would be of the slightest importance. The Re-United Nation would be prompt to repel any assault upon the soil or the rights of any of its parts."—ANDREW CARNEGIE.

MORE ABOUT IRELAND'S TAXATION.

A nice little program has the little laird of Skibo castle, marked out for Uncle Sam! And let it be carefully remembered, he has

forty so-called peace societies in this country working to bring about these results; and these societies are financed by him to the extent of ten millions of dollars; a small part of the four hundred million dollars the canny Scot is said to have wrung out of American labor!

Is it any wonder the Star Spangled Banner is being mutilated? and everything offensive to England cut out, and that our school text books are being made over, so that during the Revolution England is made to appear as almost the injured party, and the Colonists as the oppressors!

IRISH SYMPATHY FOR AMERICA.

Ireland had no interest in the prosecution of any of the wars just mentioned. Any interest she had was one of warm sympathy for the victims of England's aggression, especially for the Americans and the Boers.

And yet, Ireland which as a Nation, was bitterly opposed to these savage wars, must pay her share of the expenses. The bitter opposition of the Irish people to the war on the Americans in 1776 is shown by the fact that as soon as the Irish soldiers in the English army learned they were to be sent against the Colonists they had to be chained and manacled before they could be put on board.

Ireland, everywhere and always the friend of liberty and justice, and in a special manner of the Americans, is obliged to pay for England's attempt to rivet the chains of slavery on them!

As showing the sympathy and friendship that has always existed between the United States and Ireland back to Colonial days, and coming down to the present time, the following incident, one of hundreds that might be selected, showing how Ireland translated her kindly feelings into acts, towards Ethan Allen, the brave and gallant young Colonial officer, while he was a prisoner on board an English war ship in Cork harbor: during the Revolution. I copy the following from the *Irish World*:—

“During the early days of the Revolution the daring young patriot, Ethan Allen, was sent by Gen. Montgomery on a mission to Canada to endeavor to induce the people to take up arms against the English. Several hundred Canadians volunteered. On his return to camp he was detailed to attempt the capture of Montreal. He was defeated in his attack, and forced to surrender with the condition of being honorably treated.

“As soon as his men had laid down their arms an attempt was made to slaughter them by the Indian mercenaries in the English service, and it was with great difficulty that their lives were saved. Prescott, the British general, threatened Allen with “a halter at Tyburn,” and caused him to be put on board an English man of war, where he was manacled and

his limbs cased in shackles, to which a bar of iron eight feet long was fastened. His men who were made prisoners, twenty-eight in number, were treated in like manner.

"Allen, after having been ironed, was thrown into the hold of the ship, with only a sailor's chest for his bed and seat, and kept in this situation for five weeks, when he was sent to Quebec, and transferred to another vessel. Here he obtained a brief respite from the brutal treatment to which he had been subjected but on the approach of the American army he was again heavily ironed, placed on board an English warship about to return home and, with a number of other Americans prisoners, sent to England.

"They were all crowded into a single small apartment, and were not allowed to leave it during the entire voyage, which lasted forty days. When taken ashore at Falmouth the prisoners were still kept in irons and treated with extreme brutality. Allen was repeatedly threatened with execution as a traitor, and the letters which he wrote to his friends were suppressed. At length the English Government resolved to send the prisoners back to America—not, however, as freemen, but to exchange them for English soldiers taken prisoners by the Revolutionary army.

“On the passage out, the ship called at Cork, where the people showed the greatest possible sympathy for the brave and ill-treated American patriots, and aided them as far as possible. Allen himself says:

“It was soon rumored in Cork that I was on board the *Solebay*, with a number of prisoners from America. Upon which Messrs. Clark and Hays, merchants, and a number of other benevolently disposed gentlemen contributed largely to the relief and support of the prisoners, who were thirty-four in number and in very needy circumstances. A suit of clothes, from head to foot, including an overcoat or surtout and two shirts, were bestowed on each of them. My suit I received in superfine broadcloths, sufficient for two jackets and two pairs of breeches, overplus of a suit throughout; eight fine Holland shirts and socks, ready-made with a number of pairs of silk and worsted hose, two pairs of shoes, two beaver hats, one of which was sent me richly laced with gold by James Bonwell.

“The Irish gentlemen, furthermore, gave a large gratuity of wines of the best sort, spirits, gin, loaf and brown sugar, tea, and chocolate, with a large round of pickled beef and a number of fat turkeys, with many other articles for my sea stores, too tedious to mention here. To the privates they bestowed on each man two

pounds of tea and six pounds of brown sugar. These articles were received on board at a time when the captain and first lieutenant were gone on shore. As this munificence was so unexpected and plentiful, I may add needful, it impressed on my mind the highest sense of gratitude towards my benefactors; for I was not only supplied with the necessities and conveniences of life, but with the grand-eurs and superfluities.

“Mr. Hays, one of the donators before mentioned, came on board and behaved in the most obliging manner, telling me that he hoped my troubles were past and that the gentlemen of Cork determined to make my seastores equal to that of the captain of the *Solebay*. He made an offer of live stock to me, but I knew this would be denied; and, to crown all, did send me by another person fifty guineas; but I could not reconcile receiving the whole to my feelings, as it might have the appearance of avarice, and, therefore, received but seven guineas, only.

“I am confident, not only from the exercise of the present well-timed generosity, but from a large acquaintance with gentlemen of this nation, that as a people they excel in liberality and bravery. Two days after the receipt of the aforesaid donations the captain came on board full of envy towards the

prisoners, and swore by all that was good 'that the damned American rebels should not be feasted at this rate by the damned rebels of Ireland.' He therefore, took away all my liquors before mentioned, all the tea and sugar given to the prisoners, and confiscated them to the use of the ship's crew.

"Our clothing was not taken away, but the privates were forced to do duty on board. Soon after this there came a boat to the side of the ship and the captain of the Solebay asked a gentleman in it in my hearing what his business was, who answered that he was sent to deliver some sea stores to Colonel Allen, which he said were sent from Dublin, but the captain damned him heartily, ordering him away from the ship and would not suffer him to deliver the stores.

"I was furthermore informed that the gentlemen in Cork requested of the captain that I might be allowed to come into the city and that they would be responsible I should return to the frigate at a given time, which was denied them."

"The prisoners after leaving Cork were first brought to New York, whence they were transferred to Halifax and kept in a prison ship there until scurvy broke out among them owing to the bad food they received, when, after great efforts to secure better treatment, they were removed to the town jail. After a time

they were again conveyed to New York, where Allen was allowed to go on parole within certain narrow limits, and at length was exchanged for an English colonel."

In view of the above facts, we are not surprised to find America duly grateful and returning in full measure, on the occasion of the passage through the Commons of the Home Rule Bill, her expressions of sympathy and respect.

The Irish World of recent date, well voices the conditions existing between the two countries as follows:—

"The bond of sympathy that has ever existed between America and Ireland has generated in both countries sentiments of mutual regard that find expression whenever it is a question concerning the interests of either. When the Continental Congress addressed an appeal to the Irish people for their moral support in the "times that tried men's souls," it had no doubt as to the response that appeal would elicit. Benjamin Franklin already had borne this testimony, "All Ireland is strongly in favor of the American cause." It was not, then, to an indifferent people that the Continental Congress appealed. "Your Parliament," to quote its own words, "had done us no wrong. You have been friendly to the rights of mankind, and we acknowledge

with pleasure and gratitude that the Irish Nation has produced patriots who have highly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America.

"Accept our most grateful acknowledgments for the friendly dispositions you have already shown us."

Ireland was never a fair weather friend in the case of America. When the clouds lowered over this country she ever proved staunch and true. The news of disastrous defeats to the Union cause during our Civil War were never hailed in Ireland with rapturous cheers as they were in England.

And now when Ireland's star is beginning to rise above the horizon, it is only right that America, remembering those days of 'storm and stress' in which she had Irish sympathy in unstinted measure, should send words of cheer across the Atlantic to a sister nation whose friendship has never grown cold. Representative Goodwin of Arkansas gave formal expression to the sentiments of the American people when he offered this resolution on the passage of the Irish Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons:

"Whereas, the people of Ireland for many years have been struggling for Home Rule only to have from time to time their aspirations blighted; and, whereas, their struggles for liberty have appealed to all true Americans who love



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Scotland Division Liverpool.

freedom; and, whereas, the House of Commons on yesterday by a vote of one hundred and ten (110) majority passed the Home Rule Bill for Ireland:

"Therefore, resolved that the House of Representatives of the American Congress congratulate the people of Ireland and the British House of Commons upon the passage through the Commons of the Home Rule Bill, and that the Secretary of State be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to the Honorable Henry H. Asquith, Prime Minister; Honorable John E. Redmond, and the Honorable Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland."

The resolution offered by Congressman Goodwin may be designated the official expression of the National House of Representatives on the question of Ireland's claim to the management of her own affairs. It was supplemented by a cablegram of congratulation to Mr. Redmond sent by Congressman Michael Donahue of Philadelphia at the request of a large number of his fellow members of Congress. It reads as follows:

"Friends of Ireland in American Congress rejoice in triumph of Home Rule and heartily congratulate you and the other champions of freedom."

This cablegram is of value as showing the personal interest the Congressmen whose views it expresses, take in the Irish

cause. With the resolution they have voted for previously, it will have its moral effect on the other side of the Atlantic.

Resolution and cablegram furnish indisputable evidence of American sympathy with Ireland in this her hour of triumph.

CHAPTER X

IRELAND'S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIFE.

It is consoling and cheering to the Irish to know that in this hour of their triumph they have the sympathy and good will of all the world, and especially of the American people.

The following brief account from a Philadelphia paper, the *North American*, of recent date, of a few of Ireland's chief grievances, and of the glorious and long continued struggle she has made, and is still making, to redeem herself—the longest contest in history—will I trust have special interest for the reader at this time.

IRELAND'S VICTORY OVER TORYISM.

The most magnificent example in history of the persistence of an idea is Ireland's fight for Self-Government. For more than seven centuries the people of that country have been struggling for the right to make their own laws, for relief from a system of alien rule, economic injustice and legislative blundering without parallel in the record of Nations. The story of that long, dark period has been summed up in a few brief and terrible words by a Scotch Liberal member of Parliament:

"Seven centuries of rapine and violence. Carelessness alternating with ferocity. Not a gleam of humanity nor of political wisdom. Not even the wisdom of the peasant who takes care of his beast lest it perish."

During all this night of wrong the National spirit has never been extinguished. It survives the twelfth-century raids of the Saxon, the ruthless onslaughts of Plantagenet soldiery, the pillage and plantations of Tudor and Stuart sovereigns, the vengeance of Cromwell and William. It was not quenched by the Penal Laws of the eighteenth century, nor by the misgovernment, injustice and famines of the nineteenth. It lived through the more recent years of cruel indifference, took strength from the measures of tardy justice granted as the result of interminable rebellion, and exists today not only in greater vigor than ever before, but as the conquering force of a people soon to be free.

As there has been no National question in history of like vitality, so there is none that equals this in stirring world sympathy.) The efforts of the present British Government to do justice to Ireland are supported not alone by the public opinion of independent Nations such as the United States, but by the free dependencies of the crown. In Parliamentary representation all of Wales, three-fourths

of Scotland and half of England are for Home Rule, while for years there has not been a session of the Legislature of Canada and Australia which has not urged this measure. The Bill which passed the House of Commons on January 16 has the indorsement of the whole Empire, except that part represented by an inveterate Toryism and the devotees of a medieval prejudice.

The measure passed the House of Commons by a vote of 367 to 257; the majority was made up of 248 Liberals, 82 Irish Nationalists and 37 members of the Labor Party. The Tories had forced 164 separate divisions upon it, but they met an average government majority of 115. The Lords will throw out the Bill. It will be re-passed by the Commons and again rejected by the Upper Chamber. Then, under a law adopted a couple of years ago, the Bill will be passed a third time by the Commons—provided the Liberal Government remains in power—and will become effective without consent of the Peers.

What this measure will remedy is a system of misrule which grew up during centuries of conquest and injustice. The monstrous evils of the land system, which inflicted upon successive generations the horrors of poverty, cruelty and famine, have been largely eliminated by a succession of remedial Acts, the first of which

was passed in 1887, and the most comprehensive in 1903. But these measures of economic justice, beneficial as they were, left the country groaning under the intolerable burden of a system of government which impartial writers have thus described.

"The government of Ireland is the most inefficient in the whole world."—Lord Roseberry.

"Dublin Castle is not merely a foreign power; it is at once hostile, anti-democratic, mercenary and irresponsible."—L. Paul-Dubois, French historian.

"Irish administration is the most costly and least efficient in the world."—The Earl of Dunraven.

"During these years (since the Act of Union of 1800) the governed were, in the main, helots and slaves; the governors were, to a large extent, callous and heartless tyrants. Until Gladstone arose, no subject people had ever been more basely treated or neglected by a conqueror."—T. W. Russell, Ulster Member of Parliament.

These references are to the nineteenth century, during which, it is admitted, much was done to remedy the wrongs of preceding centuries. And it must be remembered that Ireland for a period did have her own Parliament. From 1782 until 1800 her own legislators—albeit the majority of the population were

excluded on religious grounds—sat in Dublin and made her laws and historians agree that during that period the Nation knew for the first time the blessings of peace and prosperity.

THE FOULEST PAGE OF BRITISH HISTORY.

Then came the forced Union in 1800. Against the vehement protests of all classes and both religions, the Act was passed by bribery more lavish and shameless than was ever resorted to before or since. No less than \$7,500,000 was expended in buying votes, in addition to twenty-two Irish peerages, six English peerages and twenty-two promotions, in the Irish nobility. "There is no blacker nor fouler transaction in the history of man," declared Gladstone, "than the making of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland."

Self-Government, even in a restricted measure, was thus destroyed in Ireland, and England took upon herself the responsibility of administering affairs. What has been the record of the one hundred and twelve years? Until the present generation it was a hopeless succession of complaints, indifference, rebellion, coercion and, finally, vacillating and grudging concessions. "Your oppressions," said Lord John Russell to his countrymen, "have taught the Irish to

hate your concessions, to brave you. You have exhibited to them how scanty was the stream of your bounty, how full the tribute of your fear."

AFTER THE UNION CAME A CENTURY OF STARVATION.

It was twenty-nine years after the Union before the pledge of Catholic Emancipation was redeemed. It was not until 1869 that the burden of an Established Church was removed from the backs of millions of non-adherents. The first measure for the relief of tenants, who had been fighting starvation for a century, was passed in 1870. The first Home Rule Bill was introduced in 1886, and the first one to pass the House of Commons was passed in 1893.

The evils of misrule are written indelibly in the economic history of the country. The population, which in 1801 was 5,500,000 and in 1841 had grown to 8,175,000, in 1901 had shrunk to less than 4,500,000. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, 4,000,000 of the Irish people fled from their land. By every test that could be applied the system of government was proved a ghastly failure.

Yet a considerable Parliamentary minority still stands in stolid opposition to the giving of Self-Government to Ireland. "You cannot impose this law with-

out bloodshed!" shouts the Tory leader. "The men of Ulster are ready to give up their lives at the hands of British soldiers!" This, of course, is the veriest fustian. The speaker would like to forget that in 1782 Ulster rebels stood for the freedom of the Irish Parliament, and that in 1798 many of them were in arms. He would like the world to believe that Ulster is unanimous for Toryism, whereas seventeen of the thirty-three members from that Province are Home Rulers.

THE ULSTER FICTION OF RELIGION.

The strongest argument of the "Tories" is the appeal to religious prejudice. As a fact, this fiction that Nationalism is a question of religion is refuted by its own history. Of the heroes of the National cause, the most noted have been Protestants—from the days of Grattan, Fitzgerald, Tone and Emmet, of Mitchel, Davis, and Smith O'Brien and Butt and Parnell, down to the present time, when the ruling Party in the British Parliament is overwhelmingly non-Catholic and favorable to Home Rule. It is not for religion that Toryism fights, but for special privilege, as it fought Disestablishment, Tenant Right, Land Purchase, extension of the Franchise, Local Self-Government and every other reform demanded.

And since the fight is for special privilege, it can end in but one way. It is possible that Toryism may be able, through obstruction by the Lords, to hold up the Bill until a political change overturns the Liberal Government. But the final result is inevitable. This is the day of Democracy, and British Toryism can no more permanently withhold justice from Ireland than American Toryism can continue to exploit the people of this country.

Ireland's cries for justice have gone out to all the ends of the earth, and the people have heard her with respect and loving sympathy, so much so, that a flood of public opinion has been aroused great enough to compel even England to bow before it, and with the glorious result that one of the great British parties is now endeavoring to right the wrong of ages, and has just passed through the Commons the New Charter of Irish liberty! And if the Liberal party should retain power until May, 1914, it will become a law, notwithstanding the Lords' opposition!

The fact is, Ireland bars the way and must be heard. Hers is the great question of questions that will not down. A correspondent of an Irish paper, writing in January last on how Ireland ties up all British legislation and insists on having her demands heard, says:—

A cynical student of British institutions might say that the modern House of Commons is permitted to discuss one question only—the Irish question. For the last thirty years or so British statesmanship has never been able to lose sight of that topic for any length of time. Topics of the moment there have been, but here is the question of questions, which shall last as long as the Union lasts. It may not be eclipsed or obscured or thrust on one side; forever it seems to rise above British interests as the waves rise out of the sea.

No matter how independent of the Irish vote new Governments appeared to be, the old, old question has always succeeded in occupying a great slice of Parliamentary time. No Government has ever been able to ignore Ireland as a factor in the British political situation. Deaf or hostile they mostly have been to the demands of Ireland, but dumb or pliant Ireland has never been.

THE POWER OF THE IRISH VOTE.

Tory Prime Ministers, signing coercion proclamations, may affect to scorn the Irish Party as an insignificant voting machine that strong Governments must ignore. Yet they have all felt the power of the Irish vote in Parliament, and shuddered beneath the Irish frown. The par-

iahs of yesterday's Parliaments are the makers and masters of today's.

The old quarrel between England and Ireland gradually shaped itself into a battle to destroy or to preserve the Union; and the small nation has beaten the great. At the close of the struggle there is no harm in saying that in the campaigns and tactics of Parliamentary warfare little Ireland has always been able to hoodwink and outflank proud England.

IRELAND, IRELAND; ALWAYS IRELAND!

This train of thought suggests itself by the fact that as before the Christmas holidays the last word in Parliament was of Ireland, so was the first word when the House resumed on Monday.

And, indeed, during the week the attention of Parliament has been monopolized by the Report Stage of the Home Rule Bill. 1912 closed upon a House debating Home Rule, and 1913 opened with discussion on the same subject.

A stranger, on becoming acquainted with English government in Ireland, would say at once that its sole and only object was to exploit Ireland for the exclusive benefit of English interests, and that regardless of every consideration of justice and right! She took the lands of Ireland from their rightful owners and gave them to her own adventurers and

partisans. Irish churches and church lands were taken in like manner from the ancient church; and given to the brand new church, by law established and founded by Henry the Eighth and his mild and gentle daughter, the virgin queen, Elizabeth! Both noted characters in their way, but not for the purity and sanctity of their lives surely!

The old faith was banned, education was made a crime, death was the penalty for priest and teacher! Irish manufactures of all kinds were deliberately and systematically destroyed lest they should compete with those of England! Ireland was made a purely agricultural country that she might serve as a store house for England; in a word, she was designedly made poor! and kept so! partly that England might be thereby enriched, and at the same time that Ireland might be the more easily controlled. The weaker country has not suffered in vain however; she has made herself felt in a thousand ways, and made the lot of the oppressor a hard one, and at times dangerous! She has always been ready and anxious to strike when the opportunity came, and, weak as she is, has tried at times to make an opportunity.

And this struggle she has continued for centuries; long and weary centuries; gaining a little here, losing a little there; but in the main advancing, especially during the last thirty years or so. During this time, under such glorious leaders as Parnell, Davitt, Dillon, and now under the matchless John

Redmond, the cause has been rushing on like a mighty torrent, sweeping all before it, even the one time Orange stronghold, Derry! So great was the momentum of the movement, it has actually waked up the lords long enough to vote against it, but, to their credit be it said, by a much smaller majority than in 1893!

And now we can see the dawn of Ireland's coming morn of liberty, of good will, of peace after all the long, long strife! Just here it seems to me appropriate that I should copy a beautiful little poem by the new English poet, Alfred Noyes:

THE DAWN OF PEACE.

By Alfred Noyes

Dreams are they? But ye cannot stay them,
 Or thrust the dawn back for one hour;
 Truth, Love and Justice, if ye slay them,
 Return with more than earthly power;
 Strive, if ye will, to seal the fountains
 That send the Spring thro' leaf and spray;
 Drive back the sun from the Eastern mountains;
 Then— bid this mightier movement stay.

The hour of Peace is come! The nations
 From East to West have heard a cry—
 "Through all earth's blood-red generations
 By hate and slaughter climbed thus high,
 Here—on this height—still to aspire,
 One only path remains untrod,
 One path of love and peace climbs higher!
 Make straight the highway for our God."

It may be said of the long drawn out struggle between the two nations, it is the only instance in history where the supposedly conquered and subdued nation has kept up the fight for over seven hundred years, in one way or another, and where the weaker and injured party has won, *by moral means alone!* by appealing to and arousing the conscience of the world! It may also be said that Ireland has not, as yet, completely won her battle, and that it is too soon to count the chickens before they are hatched. In a sense this is true, but Ireland has won so much during the last thirty years, not only for herself, but for the British masses as well, that while Home Rule may be delayed, it cannot be permanently defeated. The Irish party will no doubt in the future, as in the past, at least as long as they have the present representation in Parliament, hold the balance of power and make legislation in the House of Commons difficult, if not impossible, until Ireland's demands in the main are granted!

CHAPTER XI.

PREJUDICE INJECTED

Doubtless the reader has begun to think I have forgotten Mr. Brooks' articles to which I called attention in an earlier part of this work. Indeed I have not, but I have been led into a little digression by reason of the great events in the British House of Commons recently, and among them, of course, the passage of the Home Rule Bill.

If the Bill should become a law—and we seem within sight of the promised land already, despite the Lords' rejection—it will do much to right the wrongs of ages, to destroy the old time enmities and hatreds and bring two neighboring peoples to feelings of mutual respect and friendship. It will bridge over the bloody chasm of injustice, crime and wrong and establish peace where before there was only strife, heart burnings and bloodshed.

After reading some of Mr. Brooks' very friendly Irish articles—and quite a number of them are friendly indeed—one is apt to think he is one of the last persons in the world to be tinctured with the spirit of intolerance, sectarianism or anything bordering on Orangeism; and yet, I am sorry to say, even he is not wholly free from it. After assailing British rule in Ireland bitterly, and at times savagely, as I have shown, he suddenly seems to realize that perhaps he has been too severe. At any rate he begins to try to divide the re-



HON. JOSEPH DEVLIN, M. P.
West Belfast.

sponsibility, and finds, as he thinks, a scape-goat in the faith of the Irish people, and says:

“It is not until one reaches Londonderry and Belfast that one feels oneself in contact with the atmosphere and problems of a modern industrial city. Londonderry, with its large coasting trade, its shirt-making industry, its fisheries, ship-yards, iron and brass foundries, flour-mills, breweries and distilleries, gives out an instant impression of confidence, energy and success; and the industrial record of Belfast, the Chicago of Ireland, constitutes one of the greatest and most inspiring achievements in the history of commerce. These two towns, in tone and spirit, in their social structure, their instinctive ways of looking at things, and their economic formation, stand in a category of their own and have little or no affinity with Limerick, Cork, Waterford or Dublin; while the gap that separates them from the smaller urban centres, that except in Ireland would not for a moment aspire to the name of towns, is the gap of the entire industrial revolution.

There we have it! It is the Catholic Faith after all that is the cause of Ireland's troubles, or at least a large part of them, This is the only inference which can be drawn from the above, and evidently, the only one he wanted

drawn. Here it is clearly intimated, that if the Irish people were Protestants, or at least non-Catholic, all would be well; and the country would be rich, prosperous, contented and happy, like Protestant Ulster!

Notwithstanding his general intention to be fair and just, and his desire at least at times to place the responsibility for Ireland's troubles where it justly belongs, on British misgovernment; and that he has himself bravely done elsewhere, he now begins to hem and haw, and so he trots out the old-time stalking horse that has so long done duty for English apologists in Ireland, the Catholic faith!

This charge has been so often refuted, and by so many distinguished men, some of them non-Catholic and non-Irish, among them the late Lord Salisbury, one time Tory Prime Minister of Great Britain, that I am greatly surprised such an able and at times such a fair man as Mr. Brooks' is should descend to it.

Now let us see whether there is any truth in the so often alleged greater wealth and prosperity of Ulster, in comparison with her sister Provinces.

This argument has been used so frequently that the ordinary man, the man in the street, who has neither time nor interest enough to find out the facts for himself, accepts it as gospel and lets it go at that. But it is not true. It is one of those pleasant little fictions that has so long done duty as an argument

when nothing better could be found. Let us for a few moments get away from dreams and fancies and look at the facts as given in the official government figures.

"A year ago Mr. MacVeagh, M. P., of the Irish Party, quoted Rateable Valuations per head of the four Provinces, in which Leinster held first place. "Taken by counties," Mr. MacVeagh went on to state, "the rateable valuation per head is higher in no less than thirteen Counties in Leinster and Munster than in the highest County in Ulster."

"The argument of "wealthy Ulster against Home Rule" is further confirmed as an "absurd fallacy" by figures which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has recently furnished at the request of Mr. Flavin, M. P., (also a member of the Irish Party), and quoted by the London correspondent of the Dublin Freeman. These show that the amount of Income Tax per head in the Nationalist cities of Dublin, Cork and Limerick is far greater than that paid in Belfast and Derry. More remarkable still, the correspondent observes, is the fact that "the amount paid per head in Cork—the capital of the 'thrifless South'—is higher than in Belfast 'of all the rich.' Even Limerick with less of a population than Derry pays more in Income Tax."

"So the argument of superior wealth is proved to be as much of a fake and

fraud as any of other points against Home Rule."

If Ulster be more prosperous than her sister Provinces, as alleged by Mr. Brooks and his school, how account for the fact, for fact it is, that emigration is as great from there, in proportion to population, as from Catholic parts. Indeed for the month of January, 1913, the last available, the report says: Of the total emigration from all Ireland 607, Ulster supplied more than one-half or 311!

Belgium is one of the most Catholic countries in the world, distinctively Catholic; a country where a larger proportion of the people are Catholic than even in Ireland; where Protestants are few and far between; yet she is one of the most prosperous countries in the world! and one of the most truly progressive; a thriving, prosperous and contented country; a very beehive of industrial activity of almost every kind and nature! In Belgium there is scarcely any poverty, and none at all of the appalling kind that seeths and reeks in the large cities of Great Britain, especially in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow.

In Mr. McKay's work entitled, "The Social Condition of the English people," quoting Dr. Channing's "Duty of Free States," he says: "The condition of the lower classes in England at the present moment is a mournful comment on English institutions and civilization. The multitude is depressed to a degree of ignorance,

want and misery which must touch every heart not made of stone! In the civilized world there are fewer sadder spectacles than the present contrast of unbounded wealth and luxury, with the starvation of thousands and tens of thousands, misery, famine and brutal degradation, in the neighborhood and presence of stately mansions, that ring with gaiety and dazzle with pomp and unbounded profusion which shocks us as no wretchedness does!

This was written many years ago, it is true, but it is well known that the conditions have as a whole grown steadily worse since the above was written; that the gulf between the wealthy and the poor, the masses, has deepened and widened as shown in "Darkest England and the Way Out," by the late Gen. Booth, founder of the Salvation army. It is almost needless to say there is nothing in any Catholic country in the world, not even in Ireland, to equal the horrible, the almost incredible destitution, misery and wretchedness therein described!

The distinguished British statesman, Joseph Chamberlain, stated before the Tariff Commission some years ago that there was no country in the world where so large a proportion of the people were so near the verge of starvation as in Great Britain!

The Catholic faith is surely not the cause of such awful conditions, nor can it be for that of Ireland. Where then is the cause of Ireland's backward conditions? for cause there

must be somewhere. All the world knows what the trouble is, and where it is; and Mr. Brooks does, too, when he allows his sense of justice and right to have full reign, as he does at least in half a dozen places in his papers; and then he puts it on English misgovernment, as does everybody else.

If British rule in Ireland, were to be discontinued tomorrow, some of the evil effects would undoubtedly remain, and that probably for generations.

You may break, you may shatter
The vase if you will,
The scent of the roses
Will hang around it still.

And so with serfdom or slavery, the marks made by the chains of servitude will remain, and affect, more or less, the people for many long years. Take landlordism, with its appalling record of evil of almost every possible nature:—The fear of it, the terror of it, is frozen into the very marrow of the people's bones, and cannot be gotten out in a day, or two.

Their fear of some petty despot, some village tyrant, dressed up in a little brief authority, will not down at once. Though the thing itself has gone, the shadow still remains. Strike off the shackles from the slave, but the limbs that have been bound so long have become stiff and awkward for want of use. And this applies, not only to the physical man, but to the mind also, to the Godlike part of him.

Ye see yon birkie ca'd a lord,
 Wha struts and stares and a that,
 Though hundred worship at his word,
 He's but a coof for a that.

Yes, the birkie landlord has had his day, and a long and terrible one it has been; and so have all the representatives of British authority, all those who ground the people under their iron heel; but they are passing away, like a bad dream, never to return, never. It seems almost too good to be true, but it is true nevertheless.

But even now the representatives of this vile system are permitted to use the most inflammatory and riotous language, without let or hindrance.

Bonar Law, the leader of the Unionist party in the House of Commons, tells the people of Great Britain that if Home Rule be granted Ulster will not accept it, that she will wade in blood first!

Let us suppose John Redmond, or some other representative of the Irish national party, were to use similar language in case the Home Rule Bill were defeated, what would happen? And the Nationalist party, be it remembered, has back of it practically the whole of Ireland, Protestant as well as Catholic, all except a small faction the Orange Society. The members of this organization have grown fat and arrogant at the national crib; have held substantially all the offices of honor and emolument for centuries, and are now fierce in the opposition to the Nation's

demands for justice, fearing they will be compelled to surrender the spoils!

What a hue and cry would have been raised if Ireland's representatives had used that or similar language; and how every little bigot would rush into print or on the platform to tell us how completely unfitted for self-government the Irish were! Perhaps one reason the government has not prosecuted them is because no one who knows them takes them seriously. These valiant trencher men are always out for the old flag and an appropriation especially the appropriation! They have threatened time and again to wade knee deep in blood, in fact every time their ascendancy or their fees were endangered. Some time before the late Queen Victoria came to the throne, fearing she was not a dyed in the wool Protestant, of the Orange stripe, because her mother, the Duchess of Kent, was known to be a Catholic, our Orange friends made deep threats to kick her crown into the Boyne. They thought better of it however, and let her wear it in peace.

When the late Mr. Gladstone was about to disestablish the Protestant church in Ireland, in 1869 I think, they muttered and talked about ripping the Empire to pieces, smashing it to smithereens, etc. Mr Gladstone went on with his work however, and finished it; the Orange heroes remembering that

He who fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day,
and that whether discretion be the better

part of valor or not, it is a very wise thing, for even a warrior, to have around at times.

But they have saved all their ammunition and arms and valor for the fight against Home Rule! And now that self-government for Ireland is coming, we must look out for squalls for our long suffering friends have reached the limit of endurance, and will not leave a stone upon a stone of the British Empire! The Orangeman's forefathers, who received the lands of the famous clans of the O'Neils and O'Donnells, came as receivers of stolen goods, a little over two hundred years ago, from England and Scotland, largely from the latter country; and the Orangemen have ever since lived up, or down, to the reputation of their progenitors! In justice to our Orange friends, it should be stated however, that the forefathers of some of these same men were, during the existence of the Irish Parliament from 1782 until 1800, and particularly during the brief attempt to overthrow British rule in 1798, among the most intense and ardent supporters of Irish national rights, and large numbers of them freely gave up their lives in defence of Ireland's Nationality. This Orange wickedness is one of the evil outgrowths of British rule, a sort of by-product, propagated by the British to keep the people divided. It is so fierce, so intense in its love for liberty for *itself alone*, that like the French, Italian, and Portugese Atheists, it has none left for those who differ from it, and would if possible destroy all such.

Lest it be thought I have in any way exaggerated the intolerance of the Orangemen, either as a society or as individuals, I here quote an interview given by Mr. Marshall Tillie of Londonderry, a gentleman of great local influence, a Protestant and an anti-Home Ruler.

"I am a Unionist," says Mr. Tillie. "I do not believe that home rule is either necessary or desirable for Ireland. I am of opinion that the country is settling down under the good effect of Mr. Wyndham's land legislation, and if we could banish politics and religious animosities from Ireland for 20 years we should be as quiet as Kent or Cornwall.

"But I stop here. I am not only an Irishman, I am a citizen of the United Kingdom, and if the Parliament of the United Kingdom, with the assent of the crown, passes a home rule bill into law I am prepared to make the best of it, and for that I have been boycotted."

"I refused to sign their silly 'covenant' proceedings by which Sir Edward Carson and his friends have made Ulster Unionism a laughing stock, and above all—and this has been the worst of my crime—out of the 1500 people I employ at least 1300 are Roman Catholics."

"But do I understand you to say, Mr. Tillie," asked the correspondent, "that Derry Unionists think it wrong to employ Catholics."

"Undoubtedly they do," was the reply, "and any man who does so freely and cares nothing about the religions of the people he employs so long as they render him good service is marked down. That's why I intended to stand at this election, as a protest against this narrow bigotry and intolerance. I think it is time that this old and cruel ascendancy spirit was attacked, and attacked by those who believe in Protestantism and Conservatism. It has poisoned the whole of our national life in the north of Ireland for centuries."

In the words of Mr. Tillie, this wicked spirit of ascendancy, of sectarian hate, of intolerance and bigotry, has poisoned the national life for centuries. It is a monster that should be replaced by a spirit of tolerance, of justice, of mutual respect and fair play for all.

As I have already intimated, our Orange friend is as loud and persistent an office seeker as some of our American politicians, the lovers of their kind, who place themselves in the hands of their friends, to be sacrificed on the altar of their country. He and the Unionists generally have held nearly all the government offices so long, and especially in his own section of the country, that the thought of losing his pull and his influence under Home Rule, has driven him frantic, and turned him into a furious and loud mouthed boaster.

Home Rule once established, and knowing

he can have only his own share of government pickings, he will in all probability become a well disposed citizen.

CHAPTER XII

DESTRUCTION OF IRISH INDUSTRIES.

In referring to Mr. Brooks and his articles entitled "New Ireland," I stated that whenever he gets away from the English atmosphere, as he often does, he very quickly shows us the source of Ireland's ills.

Here is his graphic picture of the destruction of Irish industries, a destruction that was systematically planned and carried out in the most cruel and cold blooded manner, until each and every industry was destroyed, agriculture alone excepted.

In the dark days of protection, says Mr. Brooks, England deliberately strangled Ireland's nascent manufactures, woolens, glass, cotton, sail cloth, sugar refining, shipping—all went down, crushed out by legislation. Ireland has never recovered from that succession of staggering blows. They killed not merely her industries, but something more valuable, they killed at the same time, or at least fatally impaired, the industrial instinct and the character, the aptitude, and the kind of self discipline and self confidence that are so essential to industrial progress.

Under such conditions is it any wonder that Ireland lags behind? It would be strange if she did not, in fact a miracle. And yet while bad begins, worse remains behind, as we shall presently see.

The effect of these wicked and infamous measures lasted down to the American Revolution, the country sinking lower and lower, as one industry after another was killed, and the destitution of the people, always great under British control, became more intense and widespread than ever. During the war of American Independence, matters had come to a crisis. Finding England's hands tied by her troubles with American and European complications, the Protestants of Ireland raised a Volunteer Army of one hundred thousand men to repel a threatened invasion from France. It should be borne in mind that the Catholic people had no civic rights, no political power whatever, either in Great Britain or in Ireland, at the time, nor for forty-three years later, until Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Though shut out from actual participation in the Volunteer movement proper, they were, it is unnecessary to add, heart and soul with it in its aims and objects and gave it their hearty sympathy and such moral support as they possessed, as well as all the material aid in their power. This was more especially true after the Volunteers broadened out in their aims and purposes, including in their program of civic reforms, *the removal of Catholic disabilities*. The one great principal reform demanded by the Volunteers was the restoration of Ireland's Native Parliament.

Under pressure of the American Revolution and various threatening troubles in

Europe, England reluctantly gave up her hold on Ireland, and in part restored to the Irish people the Parliament commonly known as the Irish, or Grattan, Parliament.

IRELAND'S RESTORED PARLIAMENT.

And now the Irish Nation, for the first time in centuries, stood on her own feet and had the power to legislate on Irish soil, on purely Irish matters. A new spirit seemed to take possession of the people at once, a kindlier, a more genial, and a more energetic spirit. Now mark what followed! The very first law enacted by the new parliament was a protective tariff. This was introduced by the then speaker, in a long and able speech, and after some very lively sessions was enacted into law, and went into operation April, 1783, and amidst the unbounded rejoicings and enthusiasm of the whole people, Protestant and Catholic, rich and poor, high and low. For all believed in the statement made by the speaker, when introducing the bill into Parliament, that Ireland's awful poverty was largely due to the free entry of foreign goods into the country and chiefly those from England, in other words to what we now called, Free Trade. He also called attention to the fact that England's great prosperity and her commanding position among the Nations were in a large measure due to her adherence to protection for many centuries. The beneficial effects of

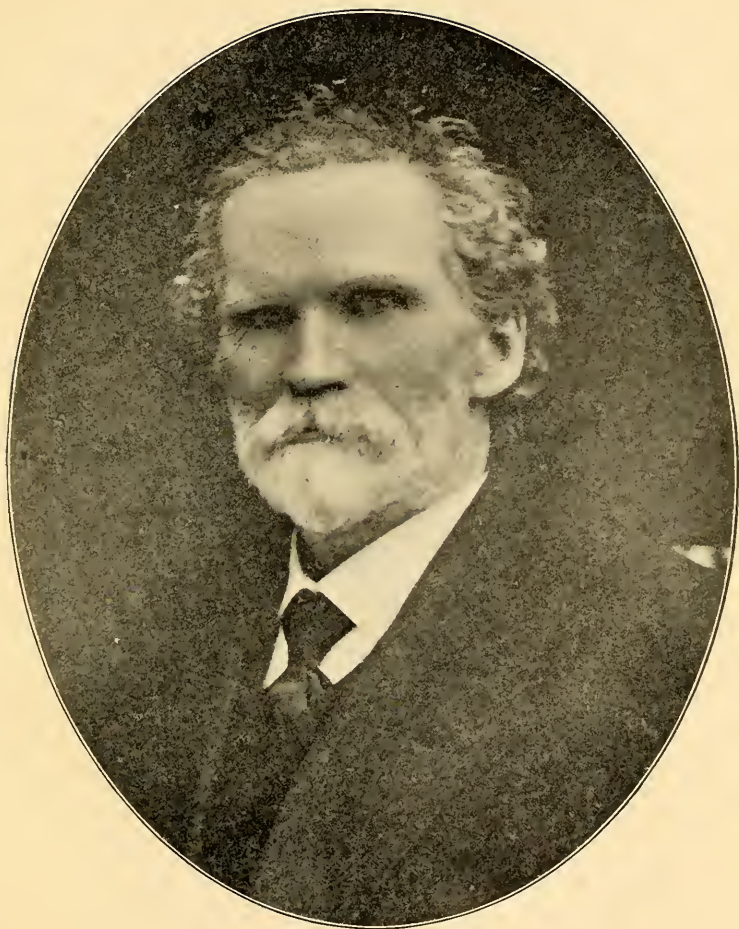
this protective policy was almost magical, and as sudden as it was great and far reaching. In a few short years, Ireland became one of the leading manufacturing countries in Europe. Foreign workmen flocked in from all quarters of the world, each one bringing his own quota of skill and knowledge of some trade or calling.

The country rapidly became a very beehive of industrial activity of almost every kind and description; peace and plenty, like guardian angels, hovered over the long time poverty stricken and distracted land.

Lest it should be thought I have in any way overstated the flourishing condition of Ireland and of her people during the period I have been referring to, I have decided to insert here some statements from a few of the distinguished men of the times, some of them members of the Irish House of Commons, and others of the House of Lords, and therefore well acquainted with the conditions they describe.

Lord Clare, speaking about 1792, that is, about nine years after Ireland had secured control of her own affairs, and telling of the wonderful transformation, the extraordinary change for the better, said:—

“There is not a civilized country on the face of the earth which has advanced in cultivation, in agriculture, in manufactures, with the same rapidity in the same period of time as Ireland.” About the same time, Lord Plunkett, speaking on the same subject, says:



PATRICK FORD
Late Editor Irish World.

"Laws well enacted and administered, her revenues, her trade, her manufactures, thriving beyond the hope or example of any other country of her extent." This be it remembered is from two of the prominent actors of the times.

Sir Jonah Barrington, in his "Rise and fall of the Irish Nation," says:—"Ireland arose in wealth, in trade, in manufactures, and in every branch of industry that could enhance her value or render her people rich and prosperous."

Her nobles resided on their own domains, and expended their great fortunes among the Irish people.

The Commons, also, dwelt on their own estates, and supported a tranquil and laborious tenantry.

The peace of the country was perfect, no standing army, no militia, no police were needed for its preservation. The activity of the Volunteers had suppressed crime in every district, religious prejudices were gradually dying out, every means of amelioration were in contemplation or in progress. To further confirm the above, if it needs any confirmation, I cite from Lord Grey, an English authority, as saying in 1799:—

"Nothing in the progress of Scotland can parallel that of Ireland." And Lord Sheffield, another non-Irish witness, said in 1785, less than three years after Ireland had secured selfgovernment, "Perhaps the improvement of Ireland is as rapid as any country has ever

experienced." To close this part of my subject, I give Mr. O'Driscoll's account of the condition of the country during this, the golden era of Ireland's National life in comparatively modern times. Under the fostering care of her new legislature, her trade increased, her manufactures flourished, her agriculture climbed the mountains and spread itself over the valleys. New roads, like the veins and arteries of the human subject, circulated the young blood of a rejoicing country from the heart to the extremities; and the Capitol lifted its head over all with the dignity not unworthy of the days of Greece and Italy. The nation suddenly started into wealth, power and intelligence.

Here are presented two pictures, the first one of wretchedness, destitution and poverty indescribable, and this under foreign, under British rule; and as a companion and contrasting picture, the same country within less than three years after British authority had ceased; flowing with milk and honey, a practically unbounded prosperity everywhere, and peace and plenty among all classes of the people and all under theegis of the newly secured Native Parliament. If effects follow cause in Ireland as elsewhere, then is British rule solely responsible for Ireland's deplorable condition, a condition that has been a byword and a reproach to England for centuries. And let it be here kept in mind that the amount of self-government which Ireland enjoyed during the period of which I have

written, from 1783 to 1800, was a very poor and limited affair, indeed, compared with the Home Rule Bill that passed in the House of Commons on January sixteenth of this year, 1913. If the former brought such relief, such wonderfully improved conditions to a long impoverished and greatly distracted country, what may we not expect from the larger and more far reaching measure soon, we hope, to be enacted into law?

Ireland's extraordinary prosperity during the period I have mentioned was; strange as it may appear, as a matter of fact, the cause of her downfall.

CHAPTER XIII

ENGLAND DESTROYS THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

England's difficulties with the Americans had ended about the year 1783, for they, aided by France and Spain, had secured their independence and had begun to work out their own salvation in their own way. England's great final struggle with the First Napoleon had not yet commenced; so, having her hands free, and no foreign entanglement to speak of, on looking towards the west she saw her neighbor, Ireland, flourishing and fairly bursting with industrial activity, with manufactures of every kind; here, there, and everywhere, the people happier and more prosperous than ever before, at least since the English occupation.

This wonderful prosperity aroused England's jealousy, just as the attempt of the Americans to start manufactures, had done some years before in the Colonial days when Lord Chatham declared the English government would not permit the Colonists to make even a hob-nail. And England determined to destroy these industries or, better still, transplant to English soil, if possible.

I fully realize this is a dreadful charge to make, but it is the only one that can explain the deliberate, the cold blooded and systematic destruction of Irish industries so graphically told, in an earlier part of this story, by

Mr. Brooks, and the further act to which I am now about to direct the reader's attention, namely, the overthrow of the Irish parliament, as the first step to the repeal of the protective laws, under which Ireland had so gloriously prospered. The Parliament being soon overthrown, Ireland was once more thrown back into the slough of despond from which she had recently been rescued.

The English historian, James Anthony Froude, commenting on England's treatment of Ireland says:—"England governed Ireland for what she deemed her own interests, leaving her moral obligations to accumulate as if right and wrong were blotted out of the statutes of the Universe."

A more striking proof of the truth of the above could not be found in the world than the destruction of the Irish Parliament, and the means used to bring it about. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech introducing the home rule bill in 1886, said there was nothing in history to equal the infamy of the means used to destroy the old Parliament. England first incited a rebellion, and quenched it in the blood of the people, pulled down the Irish Parliament, reunited Ireland to herself once more, if the union of the lamb and the lion may be called such, and this once secured had the articles joining the two countries together so arranged that the Irish protective duties should be gradually reduced year by year for twenty-one years. So here again we find Ireland chained to her old time enemy and,

as might be expected, with the old time results. Long before the time allowed for the duties to end, twenty one years, Ireland had dropped back to the old time horrible condition from which her own Parliament and laws had rescued her.

One after another her industries were wiped out, all going down before the fierce competition of her richer neighbor, a few industries being put out of business this year, and more the next, until all had gone. As soon as this had been effected, Irish industries and the Irish people were completely at the mercy of the British manufacturers and the latter gradually raised their prices to recoup themselves for any losses they might have incurred at first; in a word, made the people pay whatever they pleased.

And now all manufacturing industries being destroyed there remained only the land as a means of livelihood. When the demand for land is very great, and the land itself is limited in extent, as in Ireland, for the island is only about three hundred miles long and half as many wide, and a large portion mountain and bog, and when every one must have some in order to live at all, it follows, as surely as night the day, that land will be dear, very dear, because of the fierce struggle to get it, and that at any cost. But while land under such circumstances is high, the products of the land are cheap, fearfully and dreadfully cheap. When all are engaged in farming, A. B. and C do not buy from each other, be-

cause each is engaged in raising like products, and so the struggle for the land, which made it dear, makes its products cheap. The people of Ireland were ground between the two heavy mill stones of dear land and cheap products. Thus when the Great Famine came, lasting from 1847 to 1851, during which one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand died, either of famine or diseases incident to famine, about three million people were evicted and as many more emigrated. There was food enough raised in Ireland each year to more than supply the people's wants, as vouched for by Dr. Kane, an English authority, but so dear was land and so cheap its products than when the people had sold all, there was not enough money to pay the landlords, and nothing left for their own use, so they died by the million; and English law caused it. As further proof that there was an abundance of food, more than enough for the people's wants, I call the reader's attention to a statement in the St. Patrick's Day number of the London *Times*.

“The facts of Irish destitution are ridiculously simple. They are almost too commonplace to be told. The people have not enough to eat. They are suffering a real though an artificial famine. Nature does her duty. The land is fruitful enough. Nor can it be said that man is wanting. The Irishman is disposed to work. In fact, man and nature together do produce

abundantly. The island is full and overflowing with human food. But something ever interposes between the hungry mouth and the ample banquet. The famished victim of a mysterious sentence stretches out his hands to the viands which his own industry has placed before his eyes, but no sooner are they touched than they fly. A perpetual decree of 'sic vos non vobis' condemns him to toil without enjoyment. Social atrophy drains off the vital juices of the Nation."

Here we are told the island was overflowing with human food, and still the people were suffering an artificial famine. The *Times* writer does not tell us what causes this artificial famine, but clearly implies it. English free trade having destroyed all the other industries left the people wholly dependent on the land, and the landlords, and these landlords with the foreign English church taking advantage of the golden opportunity, seized and gobbled up all the products of the land.

The Rev. Dr. Cahill, the famous Irish orator, vividly and graphically describes, in one of his great lectures, the appalling effects of the free trade thus forced on Ireland, and especially in the famine years, so called, from 1847 to 1851:—

"Two curses," said he, "have been inflicted on Ireland—namely, the rack-renting landlords, and the accursed tithes. These two embodiments of malediction

have bent Ireland to the earth, and have crushed her, body and soul; and, like a swarm of locusts, they ate up every green and living thing, and left nothing behind but the flint of the land. After centuries of this oppression, it suddenly pleases our rulers to make a law of Free Trade. No one, more than I do, advocates the principle of cheap bread for the working man, and of employment for his children in the mechanical arts of commerce. But the principle has introduced a scene of woe, which no pencil can paint.

“The poor are exterminated, the ditches are crowded with the weak and aged; the poor-houses are charnel-places of pestilence and death; and the emigrant ship, like an ocean hearse, is sailing with her flag of distress hoisted, moving slowly through the waves, as she throws out her putrid dead; and, like the telegraph company laying down their submarine wires, the crews of the emigrant ships have learned, by long practice, to tell of a line of the Irish dead along the bottom of the deep, and, at the same time, to sail six or seven knots an hour. England has practised them in the ocean sepulchre, so that, before the end of the year 1849, they could smoke, tell off the winding sheets and sail, all at the same time, from this dexterous, nautical, cholera practice.

“Men there are who assert that the Government could not avoid this catas-

trophe. I answer, it is a cruel lie. If there must be a change in the laws of trade, well, then, let it be made; but let the law-makers bear the responsibility. If they must have a new law, well, then, let them pay for their whims; let them make compensation for the damaging results of their own free, deliberate acts. They say the law is good in principle: I answer, but bad in detail. They say it has healthy premises: I reply, yes, and a deadly conclusion. They say, it is perfect in argument: but I assert, it is murder in practise.

"They assert, it is the law; but I resume, and say, so much the worse—it legalizes and authorizes the public massacre of the people. This is a legal mockery, to hear the legislators tell the dying, starving, rotting peasant that he ought to be quite content with his lot; since he dies a Constitutional death, he will be buried according to law, in a Parliamentary churchyard, and will sleep till the Day of Judgment in a logical grave."

CHAPTER XIV

ANCIENT TENURE OF LAND IN IRELAND

Mr. Brooks finds the best lands are given over to bullocks, and the poorest lands to the people, and adds: "The bullocks have made a solitude." Oh, no, the English government has made the solitude by evicting from their humble homes about four millions of people, between the year 1847 and the present time, and under the most harrowing and awful circumstances; evicted old and young, sick and well, and often in the depth of Winter threw them out on the roadside, and forbade their friends, neighbors or relatives to aid them in any way, to give them food, shelter, or raiment, under penalty of being treated in like manner themselves. And all this done under the protection of British law, and carried out by British soldiers, police and constabulary. So, I repeat, the landlords of Ireland, and the English government, have made these vast solitudes, and these appalling places are to be found all over Ireland, awe inspiring and fitting monuments to British rule.

Many years ago, describing the horrors of an Irish eviction, the late Mr. Gladstone called it a sentence of death. Oh, how many deaths will the landlords have to account for? And the government also, which not only permitted such awful atrocities, but actually carried them out, as already stated. Mr.

Brooks expresses surprise that so few of the Irish emigrants go to any British possession. It is a wonder indeed that any of the poor harassed people should go to any place over which the British flag floats.

But some of them, just a few, do lose their bearings for a short time, and before they realize it find themselves somewhere in the British possessions. They do not remain long however, at least not many of them, but soon find their way back to some snug harbor elsewhere.

In order to get something like a clear idea of the Tragedy of Ireland, it is necessary to know something of the tenure of the land before its occupation by England. Prior to the English invasion, in 1169 to 1172, the Irish tribes, or clans, owned the land directly, and of course paid no rents of any kind for its use. The chief, or head of the clan, had only a life's interest in it, and then only on his own part. Speaking of this phase of the question, Mr. Brooks very innocently says:—Tribalism penetrated the Irish mind with the conviction that the Irish soil belonged to them. Why not? Who had a right to it, except the people to whom it had belonged from time immemorial? Surely the English invaders had no right to it, save that of highway robbers. And yet Mr. Brooks seems to think they had. How true is the English historian Froude's remarks that British rule in Ireland proceeded as if the moral law had no existence. At any rate the authorities

acted as if there were no right and no wrong in the world, or, to put it in another way, whatever advanced British interests was right, and anything that retarded those interests was wrong, wholly regardless of every moral and divine consideration. And our English friend, Mr. Brooks, seems amazed that any one should question their right to do so. This want of thoroughly understanding the difference between mine and thine, or wanting to understand it, on the part of the British, has led to all the evils, strife and bloodshed, and all the iniquities that have been perpetrated in all the long and weary centuries. But the bloody chasm of the bitter past seems about to be closed up, and let us hope forever. It is almost needless to remind people with conscience that *there is* a difference between mine and thine, a great, a far reaching difference; that they are as far apart as the poles; as heaven and hell.

It came to pass then, that as soon as the English had conquered a chief, or his tribe, or corrupted the former, they assumed or pretended to assume that *he* owned the tribal lands and as a consequence these lands fell to them by right of conquest. This the clansmen stoutly and valiantly denied and defended their denial with their lives, and it has taken more than seven long and bloody centuries to hammer into the English mind that the clansmen were right. And thus commenced that long and terrible struggle for the soil of Ireland, one that has continued with very

little intermission up to the present time. From this contest has come more strife and bloodshed, more calamity and wrong than from any other one cause in the relations between the countries.

As I have elsewhere shown, Mr. Brooks, again and again, falls back on the last resort of English apologists for the conditions in Ireland; namely, that Ireland's grievances are sentimental, or at least partly so. This is all the more surprising from the fact that he has himself given some of the best refutations of the charge I have ever seen, and in more than half a dozen places in his writings. For he tells us of the great load of overtaxation that Ireland is compelled to stagger under and he does not tell anything like the whole of it at that, about her wretchedly poor system of education, the gross injustice done to three fourths of the people, the Catholics, by denying them University education, until a few years ago; and all this while the remainder of the people, the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, were blessed with everything they could desire in this matter; were in fact pampered favorites. Nor is this all, for in another place he tells us how all the Irish lands were taken from their rightful owners and given to certain English and Scotch adventurers, and some to favored English guilds. In addition I may state that the ancient church and monastery lands were also taken, and the former given to the new Church by law established, while the monasteries, which before

the so-called Reformation had supported the poor and the indigent, were given to the favorites of the English monarchs. In the olden days before the Reformation, the monks took care of the poor, fed them, housed them and clothed them, both in Great Britain and Ireland, from the produce of the lands, and did it not only willingly, but cheerfully and delightedly, regarding it as a precious work of mercy, to take care of Christ's poor, and of course without any cost whatever to the nation, or any of its people. After the monks were expelled, however, and their lands seized and given to the king's or queen's hirelings, the cost of maintaining the poor fell directly on the people at large, and then for the first time were invented the ominous words, "pauper" and the "poorhouse," words and institutions never before heard of.

DIFFERENT CONDITIONS IN IRELAND.

Another thing that Mr. Brooks does not mention, is the fine old British practice of jury packing, in political cases, a practice by which the forms of law were scrupulously preserved, while the spirit was wholly absent. And when the people became too troublesome even the form was abolished, the habeus corpus was suspended, and any man, woman or child might be arrested and thrown into prison, and left there to rot, without trial of judge or jury, without any charge being

brought against them, on mere suspicion.

The reader will better appreciate what this means when I say that during the century from 1800 to 1900 the habeus corpus was suspended eighty-seven times, and in the year of Queen Victoria's jubilee was made perpetual, though since repealed. If the reader should still have any doubts as to whether or not Irish grievances are real, hard practical grievances, or merely fanciful, and sentimental, I will here present still another extract from our English friend, Mr. Brooks, which will, I am sure, convince any honest person that the Irish troubles are real grievances indeed, with scarcely anything sentimental about them. Says Mr. Brooks:—"Five centuries of Anglo-Irish history had destroyed the native civilization, had dispossessed the people of their holdings, their lands, had marshalled on either side of the agrarian struggle the interests and antagonism of social and religious strife, and had centered in a small minority of Alien creed, speech and temperament, practically all political power and privilege of a social and territorial ascendancy."

I will let the reader reconcile as best he can the above with Mr. Brooks' statement that Irish grievances are sentimental. After this Mr. Brooks proceeds to tell us that Ireland is under British law, and implies that is a remedy for all political evils. I think Ireland has learned that fact, with a vengeance, and he innocently seems to think that is enough,



MICHAEL J. RYAN
National President, U. I. L. A.

and intimates if she is not prosperous and happy, the fault is her own. He also overlooks what should be apparent to all; namely, that if the conditions prevailing in Ireland be radically different from those found in the British islands, as they are; if her history, traditions, ancient land ownership, faith, aspirations; if all these as well as other things be different, she demands and should receive different treatment.

The laws, which might be perfectly satisfactory and just under one set of circumstances, it is easy to imagine, might be most oppressive under other and different conditions. This is so self-evident it should need no argument, but it seems it does. It is as unreasonable to try to fit all peoples with the same sort of laws and institutions, regardless of their different customs, manners, history, religion and speech, as it would be to try to cure all manner of diseases with one remedy only, or fit all men with one size shoes or garments. And yet this is precisely what Great Britain has been trying to do in Ireland for centuries, and with the most lamentable and disastrous results, as Mr. Brooks himself is compelled to confess.

In England, Scotland and Wales the landlords are of the same faith and race as their tenants, they live among their tenantry, share their ups and downs, their joys and sorrows, and are in close touch with them at all times, and, in a word, they are in a sense part and parcel of their people. Any improvements

made on the land, fences, or outhouses, are always paid for by the landlords in Great Britain, and such is, and has been the rule also in Ulster.

How has it been in the other parts of Ireland? There it has been entirely different, until the recent remedial land measures. The lands, as I have already shown, were taken from their rightful owners and given to certain guilds, or organizations, mostly British, the greatest portion of them to certain favored individuals. These new owners were alien in speech, customs, manners and religion as well as habits of thought from the natives, and looked on the original owners as conquered slaves, or serfs, and treated them accordingly. There could, of course, be no community of interest between them. They looked at almost everything from different and opposing standpoints; one from that of the conqueror, the other that of the conquered.

As the new landlords were alien to the people in almost everything, as might be expected, they were wanting in sympathy, that golden link that binds man to his fellow-man in bonds of kindness, friendship and good will. The tenants regarded the newcomer as a successful robber, who was enjoying what he had no moral right to possess, their property, and the law not as a beneficent instrument to right their wrongs, but rather as a huge power for guarding and defending the thief, and for seeing he should not be disturbed in the enjoyment of his ill-

gotten goods. And almost incredible to relate, the English are surprised we Irish do not fall down and worship such laws, enacted by robbers, for robbers! It is scarcely necessary to add that improvements in the land were impossible under such a system. Somewhere in Mr. Brooks' writings, he tells us the Irish must learn the gospel of work. Merciful heavens, who could work under such almost incredible conditions?—under such an appalling system? Does not it offer a premium on idleness, on shiftlessness, on improvidence, on ignorance? The wonder is that any people could survive at all under such an awful state of things. Wherever the Irish people go, outside of their own land, they are the ablest and most willing of all workers, and along all lines of human endeavor.

In Great Britain, if the farmer finds the conditions hard, unjust or oppressive, he can sell out his interest in the place, and take his family and himself to the nearest factory town or city, where he may hope to begin life anew, and better his condition. England took care that Ireland should not be burdened with mills or factories of any kind, as we have already learned. The Irish farmer is not however so fortunately situated. He can only take himself and his dear ones to the poorhouse, a place of ill omen wherever known, and a purely British institution. It can be truly said of the Irish poorhouse: all who enter here, leave hope behind. If he be for-

tunate enough to have relatives or friends abroad, who are able to pay his fare to the new land, he may emigrate. When driven from the home of his fathers, he always leaves reluctantly and sorrowfully; and carries with him a heritage of hate towards his oppressors that finds vent later on every available opportunity.

We find largely as a consequence of such a system that, while the population of Great Britain has largely increased since 1847, nearly doubled in fact, that of Ireland has fallen off by one-half. Ireland is the only country in the civilized world where there has been no increase in population, but rather where it has declined, and, as I have said, by about one half.

What a commentary on British rule! As the reader knows, I have quoted freely from Mr. Brooks both as to the facts he so ably presents and his comments, his opinions on the same, because I wish the reader to see for himself how his facts and evidences contradict his opinions on this matter of British rule, his prejudice and prepossessions arguing for the continuance of such rule, while his large sense of justice demands its repeal.

He makes at times the most amazing statements, not as to opinions only—for there a certain latitude might be expected—but as to matters of facts, things that every schoolboy at all acquainted with British government in Ireland ought to know. For instance, he says:—"The exceptional laws which apply to Ireland, and do not apply to England, are few in numbers and of little account."

The value of this statement may be seen when it is known that:—

"Ireland has experienced since the passage of the act of union in 1800, no fewer than 87 different coercion acts, or almost one for each year since the union was enacted."

"Mr. Brooks may regard it as of "little account" that under its provision domiciliary visits by the police to private households are made legal, the habeas corpus may be and has been suspended at a moment's notice over Ireland, by the Lord Lieutenant; defendants charged with political offenses may be removed from any one part of the country to any other and tried by specially selected jurors, that two magistrates specially appointed by the government may imprison at will anybody brought before them under the act, and deny the right of appeal; and

that other provisions equally repugnant to the spirit of fair play and liberty are likewise embodied in the act. Neither of these provisions applies in England, and most fair minded people will be inclined to differ with Mr. Brooks and feel that they are not of "little account."

CHAPTER XV. IRISH SERVICES TO AMERICA.

What an awful record of exceptional treatment have we here, and all this applied to Ireland alone, notwithstanding Mr. Brooks states that the laws which applied to Ireland, and did not apply to England, were few and of little account. It can be truthfully said, if England had displayed half the zeal in trying to make Ireland prosperous and happy that she has shown in making her poor, wretched and miserable, Ireland would be her pride and glory today, and her tower of strength in the evil days that are ahead. But England chose at first the evil way, and has continued in it all down the centuries and must now pay the penalty. Ireland blocks and bars the way at every turn, and has done so in the House of Commons for about thirty years, the Irish Party holding the balance of power there. Nor is that all, for here in America, too, British diplomacy, always watchful, always keen and shrewd, is checkmated at each and every turn of the diplomatic game by these same Irish enemies, whom her inhuman system drove off as if they were wild beasts. Ireland has indeed scored heavily against her enemy, and that many, many times. She made England pay dearly in the American Revolution for, according to the statement of some British officers, America was lost to Great Britain through the Irish. And Gen. Packenham, one of those who fought against

the Continental Army, testifying before a committee of the House of Commons, declared one half of Washington's troops were Irish, and that the Irish language was as much spoken among them as English. And the Irish were as conspicuous in their services on sea, for the Colonists, as on land. Need I remind the reader that the famous Captain John Barry was the father and founder of our American Navy, though bigots of the A. P. A. stripe have been striving to rob him of his laurels, and to show that John Paul Jones was its founder. Jones was an able and a brave man, but it can be said in all truth he had nothing in common with American institutions, that he was, in fact, an adventurer who was willing to sell his service to the highest bidder, and did so by joining the Russian Navy.

In answer to a correspondent from Texas, The *Irish World*, of recent date, gives the following account of Commander Barry and his career while at the head of the Continental navy:—

FATHER OF THE NAVY IGNORED.

“There was a time when the densest ignorance prevailed as to the part Irish-Americans took in making American history. When the *Irish World* first undertook to dissipate this ignorance, even our own people were astonished at the facts we dug up from the debris of the past.

The opinion, sedulously nourished by Anglo-American writers, was that men of our race had little or nothing to do with securing for America the political rights that made of a few scattered colonies the greatest of nations. Irish-Americans were regarded as new comers, strangers within the gates, who had not borne the heat and burden of the day and, therefore, should regard themselves as beneficiaries of those who did. The theory was that they should bear themselves in a deferential manner toward the descendants of the latter."

"The Irish World proved by an array of historic facts that men of our race, from the very beginning, took a conspicuous part in the events that led up to the birth of the Republic. Commodore John Barry, the Father of the American Navy, was one of those Irishmen who rendered this sort of service. Yet in certain quarters a disposition is manifested to rob him of his well deserved laurels. This note from a correspondent is self-explanatory:

HOUSTON, TEXAS.

"Dear Sir: Inclosed is a copy of a communication circulated in this locality. You will readily notice that the name of Jack Barry is conspicuously ignored. This prejudice should be vigorously exposed.—Respectfully yours,

JAS. P. WELSH."

"The communication referred to is a circular addressed to the superintendents of all Texas schools, signed by the Chairman of the "Committee on Silver Service for the Battleship 'Texas.'" It suggests that it would be appropriate to have for the week prior to the presentation of the silver service "especially assigned studies for the history hour, regarding the American Navy." The writer of the circular adds that Rear Admiral Vreeland "has very kindly suggested as appropriate subjects for study the following engagements of the Navy, as representing its best traditions of efficiency, bravery and patriotism."

"Then follows a list of naval engagements. The only names mentioned are those of John Paul Jones and Hobson. Commodore Barry is wholly ignored. The pupils of the Texas schools are not to hear his name even mentioned. He, in the opinion of Admiral Vreeland, does not represent the "best traditions of efficiency, bravery and patriotism" of the Navy which came into existence under his supervision. Let us see who is the naval hero who is not deemed fit to be held up to the pupils of the schools of Texas as worthy of their admiration."

"It is the Spring of 1776. The Declaration of Independence has not yet been penned. Barry sails from Philadelphia down the Delaware in command of the

Lexington. He meets with the British ship *Edward*, which was armed with eight carriage guns and a number of swivels, and captures it after some brisk fighting. The action elicited from John Adams the comment: "We begin to make some little figure here in the Navy way." Preble, in his *Origin of the Flag*, says of this victory: "This Lexington of the seas, therefore, occupies the position in our naval annals that the Lexington from whence she derived her name does from having been the arena of the first conflict of the Colonies with England. * * * *

She was the first vessel that bore the Continental flag to victory on the ocean

"It was the beginning of a brilliant career in a navy with which Commodore Barry, unlike Paul Jones, remained identified till his dying day. The next year he was Senior Commander of the American Navy at Philadelphia, and as such repulsed a British squadron sailing up the Delaware. On the capture of the city he greatly harassed the transports of the enemy on the Delaware. On one occasion he captured a schooner and some of these transports. Of this exploit John Laurens, in a letter to his father, Henry Laurens, President of the Congress, wrote, "You will be informed of Captain Barry's success with two or three armed boats on the Delaware. Two transports loaded with forage, one of them mounting six

four-pounders, attended by a schooner mounting eight four-pounders and four howitzers, fell into his hands by his gallantry and address." Washington himself writing of Barry's achievement said: "The exploit was considered highly creditable to Captain Barry, on account of the enterprise and daring he displayed in going down the river when it was full of the enemies' shipping and small craft." (Spark's Writings of Washington, Vol. V, p. 271.)

"The bravery exhibited by Barry on this occasion was surely equal to that displayed by Hobson in his dash into Santiago harbor, and was far more productive of beneficial results. Yet American youth are taught to admire the latter act, whilst they are left in total ignorance of the heroic deed that elicited Washington's commendation. In ignoring Barry an opportunity is lost for holding up to the pupils in the schools of Texas a striking example of unpurchasable patriotism. When Sir William Howe learnt of that capture of British transports in the Delaware he was quick to recognize and appreciate Barry's ability as a fighter. He lost no time in offering the Irish-American sailor a tempting bait in the shape of 20,000 guineas and the command of a British frigate, if he would abandon the American cause. Here is the written reply to the attempt to wean

him away from the American cause: "Not the value and command of the whole British fleet can seduce me from the cause of my country." What a lesson for the youth of the land is embodied in this patriotic declaration of Commodore Barry.

"Then, too, if the author of the circular to the superintendents of the Texas schools had been desirous of furnishing the youth of that State with a story to stir their young blood, what better choice could be made than the account of how Barry fought on board of the Alliance against two British ships. It is a naval engagement which, as told in Bailey's Naval Biography, is replete with dramatic interest. Barry, wounded and weak from the loss of blood, is carried below. In the meantime the two British ships are pouring broadside after broadside into the Alliance, which seems to be doomed. The lieutenant in command thought the time had come for hauling down the Stars and Stripes. Going to the wounded Barry, he made his opinion known to him. What followed is thus described in Bailey's Naval Biography: "'No', said he, 'and if the ship can't be fought without, I will be carried on deck.'" When the lieutenant made known to the crew the determination of their brave commander, fresh spirit was infused into them, and they one and all

resolved to 'stick by him.' As soon as his wound was dressed, he insisted upon being carried on deck, but before he reached it the enemy had struck."

"Of such stuff was the Father of the American Navy made. In war, as in peace, he loyally served his country. He was selected as head of America's infant navy, in the developing of which he spent the remainder of his life. In Judson's Sages and Heroes of the Revolution we have this pen portrait of him: "He was noble in spirit, humane in discipline, discreet and fearless in battle, urbane in his manners, a splendid officer, a good citizen, a devoted Christian, a good patriot." To erase the memory of such a hero from the pages of American history would be a distinct national loss. The manner in which he served his country in the days of its weakness teaches a lesson of patriotism far more impressive than any such study as suggested in the circular addressed to the superintendents of the schools of Texas. It does seem strange that the American admiral who suggested the matter of that circular should ignore the Father of the American Navy with whose heroic deeds he must be familiar."

I shall here supplement the above interesting account of Commodore Barry and his achievements for the American patriots by

quoting the official pronouncement of Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, assistant Secretary of the United States Navy, recently delivered:—

“Barry left his own land to take part in the Revolution, and offered himself and his ship to the American Government. When the navy was started, the first ship, the *Lexington*, was given to Barry; and the first British flag ever struck to an American naval officer was struck to Barry. Off the coast of Cuba, he engaged in the last sea encounter of the Revolution. Washington commissioned him Number One in the navy, and he held his commission until he died. Lord Howe, from New York, tried to win Barry over, and you know the answer he got—that Barry would not be seduced from the cause of his country for the value of the entire British Navy.

“The Government having spoken through its accredited representative, the matter may be regarded as definitely settled: to Barry, not Jones, belongs the hitherto disputed honor.”

THE IRISH IN THE CIVIL AND SPANISH WARS.

The work of the Irish in the Spanish war is perhaps best told in the magnificent poem, by Joseph I.C. Clarke, entitled: *The Fighting Race*:—

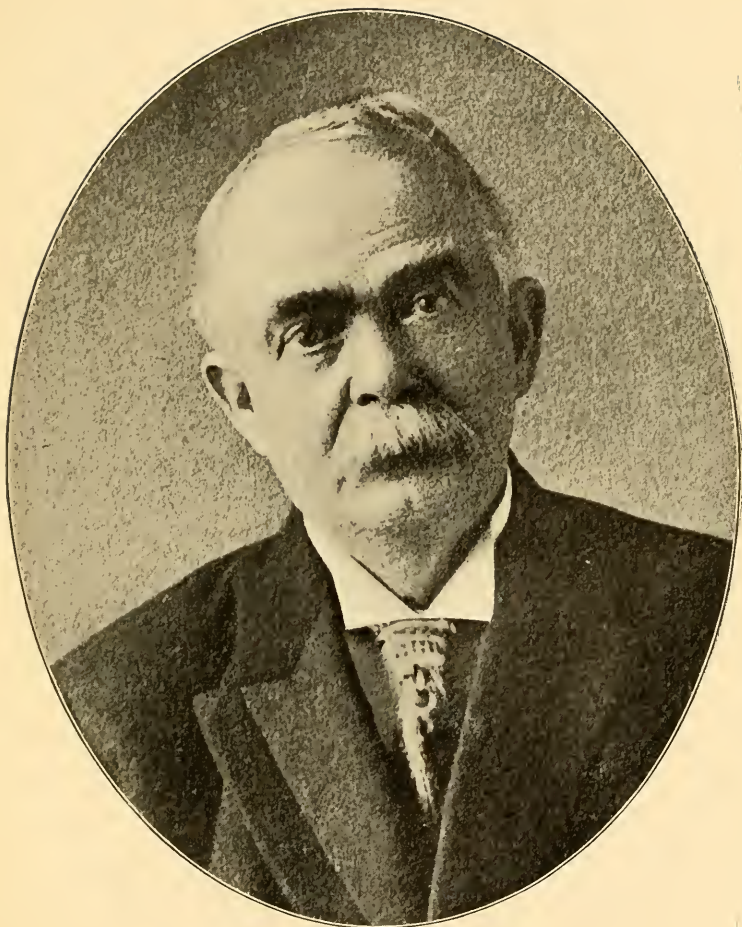
"THE FIGHTING RACE"

By Joseph. I. C. Clark

"Read out the names!" and Burke sat back,
 And Kelly drooped his head.
 While Shea—they call him Scholar Jack—
 Went down the list of the dead.
 Officers, seamen, gunners, marines,
 The crews of the gig and yawl,
 The bearded man and the lad in his teens,
 Carpenters, coal passers—all.
 Then, knocking the ashes from out his pipe,
 Said Burke in an offhand way:
 "We're all in that dead man's list, by Cripe!
 Kelly and Burke and Shea."
 "Well, here's to the Maine, and I'm sorry for Spain,
 Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

"Wherever there's Kellys there's trouble," said Burke.
 "Wherever fighting's the game,
 Or a spice of danger in grown man's work."
 Said Kelly, "you'll find my name."
 "And do we fall short," said Burke, getting mad,
 "When it's touch and go for life?"
 Said Shea, "It's thirty-odd years, bedad,
 Since I charged to drum and fife
 Up Marye's Heights, and my old canteen
 Stopped a rebel ball on its way.
 There were blossoms of blood on our sprigs of green—
 Kelly and Burke and Shea—
 And the dead didn't brag." "Well, here's to the flag!"
 Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

"I wish 'twas in Ireland, for there's the place,"
 Said Burke, "that we'd die by right,
 In the cradle of our soldier race,
 After one good stand-up fight.
 My grandfather fell on Vinegar Hill,
 And fighting was not his trade;



THOMAS B. FITZPATRICK
National Treasurer, U. I. L. A.

But his rusty pike's in the cabin still
 With Hessian blood on the blade."
 "Aye, aye," said Kelly, "the pikes were great
 When the word was 'Clear the Way!'
 We were thick on the roll in ninety-eight—
 Kelly and Burke and Shea."
 "Well, here's to the pike and the sword and the like!"
 Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

And Shea, the scholar, with rising joy,
 Said, "We were at Ramillies;
 We left our bones at Fontenoy
 And up in the Pyrenees;
 Before Dunkirk, on Landen's plain,
 Cremona, Lille, and Ghent,
 We're all over Austria, France and Spain,
 Wherever they pitched a tent.
 We've died for England from Waterloo
 To Egypt and Dargai;
 And still there's enough for a corps or crew,
 Kelly and Burke and Shea."
 "Well, here is to good honest fighting blood!"
 Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

"Oh, the fighting races don't die out,
 If they seldom die in bed,
 For love is first in their hearts, no doubt,"
 Said Burke; then Kelly said:
 "When Michael, the Irish Archangel, stands,
 The angel with the sword,
 And the battle-dead from a hundred lands
 Are ranged in one big horde,
 Our line, that for Gabriel's trumpet waits,
 Will stretch three deep that day,
 From Jehosaphat to the Golden Gates—
 Kelly and Burke and Shea."
 "Well, here's thank God for the race and the sod!"
 Said Kelly and Burke and Shea.

Clearly the Irish had much useful work to do for the land that gave them a refuge and a shelter, and well and nobly did they repay the benefits received. All the world knows of their glorious work in the Civil War.

Without in any way wishing to disparage any other race or people, I feel perfectly safe in saying that more men of Irish birth or descent took part in defence of the Union than of any other people, the natives alone excepted. There is scarcely a doubt but that at least thirty to thirty-three per cent of all the land and naval forces of the United States were either born in Ireland, or of Irish origin, and many keen observers place the number much higher.

Among the many distinguished officers of Irish descent, to mention only a few, there were Gen. George A. Meade, the victor at Gettysburg, Gen. John A. Logan, fighting Phil. Kearney, Thomas Francis Meagher and the invincible Philip H. Sheridan, of whom Gen. Grant said to the late Senator Hoar of Mass. that he, Sheridan, had no superior as an officer, either in the ancient or modern world.

Eulogy has here exhausted itself, has said all that can be said in the way of praise.

CHAPTER XVI

ENGLAND'S DIPLOMACY CHECKMATED

And now to come back from this little digression touching the physical prowess of the Fighting Race, a quality in which all know they excel, and always have, to another and different kind of effort; to diplomacy. It goes without saying the English agents are, from long experience and a somewhat calloused conscience, past masters in the art, while we Irish are supposed to be raw green hands. And yet, even here, England has not the game entirely in her own hands; far from it. The Irish who, in the words of the *London Times* fifty years ago, had gone with a vengeance, have been "nursing their wrath to keep it warm" and they, with aid of good and patriotic Americans, of all races, have blocked the artful little games of our dear British cousins in their efforts for an American-British alliance. It is well known, a kind of open secret in fact, that there has been in this country for many years a little clique of pro-Britishers, few in numbers, but loud and noisy, and heavily financed by Andrew Carnegie's millions, as stated already. This little coterie is made up chiefly of people of British birth, a few of them American citizens, but most of them unnaturalized, with a few well meaning but simple and gullible Americans, peace visionaries. These people, whether citizens or

not, are for Great Britain *first, last and always*, and play the English game unceasingly, as shown by their recent demand *that we give England part of Alaska!* They flood Congress and Protestant churches with circular letters, praying, urging, and even demanding a British-American alliance, or something that can be presented to the world as such, and try to make themselves and the world believe that if anything of this nature could be brought about, we should have the millennium at once, the lion would lie down with the lamb, or rather with the eagle, our swords would be turned to plow-shares, and, in one word, there would be peace throughout the world. A nice little game of the British, but deep. It is no use, however; the world sees through it, and the Irish and their friends have always barred it, always. It does not need a great exercise of memory to recall the fact that Great Britain, which is so suddenly anxious for peace that she is almost willing to fight for it, waged more wars during the nineteenth century, just closed, than all the other great powers combined, and almost all wars of aggression, and against the weak and defenceless; over fifty wars in all, big and little, during the reign of the late Queen Victoria; and it is perfectly safe to say no two of them justifiable on moral grounds. Great Britain has worked quite a number of these peace games in this country during the last thirty years or more, but all have failed, whether done in secret, like Carnegie's present Al-

liance peace game, or openly. It is unnecessary, I am sure, to remind the reader of the many treaties drawn up between the two countries, during comparatively recent years, the ostensible object of all being for peace and good will throughout the whole world, but especially between the two contracting parties.

Great Britain's real object, many think, was just a wee bit different and this was to have these treaties so drawn up, and especially to have them so presented to the world, as to make the United States appear as the friend and ally of England. But all have failed, due largely to the Irish and the truly patriotic Americans. Besides, Ireland has made England's name a byword and a reproach around the world as the one nation that is forever preaching and prating about liberty as the one great, the one desirable thing, and yet, forever crushing it, and trampling it in the dust, whenever and wherever it interferes with her designs or stands in the way of her projects. Ireland and India tell the story. Another instance, among the almost innumerable ones that might be cited, is the infamously wicked act by which Great Britain some 70 years ago forced at the mouth of her cannon, on the defenceless Chinese nation, her Indian-grown opium, and has continued to do so up to this present time.

It may be asked what all this has to do with the Irish question? Much, for until England lets go her grip on Ireland there will be no peace for her at home, no sympathy, no

support abroad. For, as every one knows, it is poor, weak, despised Ireland that has stacked the cards against her here in America, and barred the way against her diplomatic games.

If any one doubts the strength of the Irish-American vote and influence, which can always be counted on as against England's, until she does justice to Ireland, I call his attention to an incident in comparatively recent times.

When the late President Cleveland was up for re-election, a letter was sent to the British ambassador, at Washington, Sir Julian Pauncefote, by a person from Lynn, Mass., who represented himself as a British workingman, asking advice as to the best person to vote for to promote English interests. Sir Julian fell into the trap at once, and wrote advising his supposed countryman to vote for Cleveland. As the letter was a decoy, the whole correspondence was made public immediately, and fell like a bombshell among Cleveland's friends.

Now note what followed: instead of being thankful for the offered support, Cleveland demanded of the British Government the immediate recall of its Minister, a demand that was speedily complied with. Why the demand? Why the recall? Because it was well understood that any candidate representing British interests, no matter how remotely, would meet the united and overwhelming opposition of the Irish-American voters.

and would arouse certain latent jealousy among a large number of American voters, and that both factors would bury politically anyone who dared to accept such aid. A more striking instance of the strength and influence of the Irish-American vote could not well be given.

THE LATE BRITISH REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

But it may be urged, indeed it is urged, and with some show of reason, that Great Britain has enacted quite a large number of beneficial measures for the relief of Ireland during the last one hundred years, and especially during the last twenty-five or thirty years,—such as the Catholic Emancipation Act, in 1829, the disestablishment of the Protestant church in Ireland, in 1869, thereby freeing the people, at least in part, from the yoke of this foreign institution; the various enactments during this period in regard to the sale, tenure, ownership and renting of lands, compensation for improvements, etc., and commonly known as the land measures; and finally the coming Home Rule Bill. While cheerfully admitting the great benefits derived from the above laws, and the enormous gain that may be expected to Ireland from the great Home Rule measure (I am assuming it will become a law), it should be borne in mind that all the evils, all the abuses which the above remedial legislation was, and is, intended to correct

and wipe out are solely of England's making, and many others also for which as yet there is no remedy in sight. And to make matters worse, all the reformatory measures had to be wrung from England slowly and grudgingly, and by piecemeal forced from her under the greatest possible stress and agitation, and on two occasions, at least, only when threatened with Civil war was relief granted. England has spoiled all her gifts, if they can be called gifts, by her manner of giving. Catholic Emancipation was forced from her by fear of war, and the disestablishment of the Protestant church in 1869 by Fenian movement, as admitted by Mr. Gladstone himself.

Mr. Brooks tells us with a great flourish of trumpets that Ireland is under theegis of British rule, and clearly implies that if she is not happy and prosperous, the fault is her own, and is because of something exceptional in the Irish character, and then says:—

“She is the only failure under the English flag!”

How about British India? Were there not a great number of uprisings in that once great country against this ideal rule with which he is so enamoured--no less than six or seven during the reign of Queen Victoria? Every few years great famines sweep over the land, carrying off millions at a time, leaving wholesale ruin in their path, and this, too, let it be remembered, in a land famous for its wealth since the dawn of history. “The wealth of Ind” has passed into a proverb.

And it is well known the country is even now seething with sedition and threatened with rebellion. People do not ordinarily rise up and slaughter their benefactors, those who have showered blessings upon them. It is almost needless to add that when a people thus act, it is generally against those whom they regard as oppressors. Nor should it be forgotten that famines were rarely or ever heard of before the coming of the British, and I believe are of very rare occurrence in the native states now.

How does Mr. Brooks explain the fact that the American Colonists turned out and fought a bloody war, lasting seven years, rather than submit to live under these laws and institutions that he thinks are the very best for all peoples, and that since then they have gone along by leaps and bounds, and have become a mighty nation, one of the most powerful in the world, the wonder of all. Nor are the British colonies proper always satisfied with their glorious English institutions, that Mr. Brooks raves about, for I find that twenty-six of her colonies are self-governing: among them Australia, New Zealand, the late Boer Republic of South Africa, as well as the Dominion of Canada, which rather than longer endure British control rebelled in 1837. Still more, the slight bonds which have heretofore held these colonies together more or less loosely are being gradually snapped and broken. How explain Canada's demand a few years ago,

for the withdrawal of British Military and Naval forces from Canadian forts and waters, a request, by the way, quickly complied with, and Canada's refusal to be bound by any treaty affecting her rights, honor or territory unless she herself is a party to the same. Even if Ireland's grievances were solely sentimental, as Mr. Brooks so strangely says, she could even then make out a perfect case, as I shall presently show. Let us suppose that, by one of those great revolutions that so often take place and which change the geographical lines and limits of nations, that Great Britain were conquered by some great power, say Germany, or the United States, and that the victorious country gave her own laws and institutions to the conquered English people. Would they be satisfied? They would have under the new regime as much liberty, fair play and justice as the natives and citizens of the victorious party, but again I ask, would they be satisfied? Would they be contented with equal rights, equal privileges and equal opportunities?

Of course they would not, even though under the new conditions the state of things might be more favorable to the bulk of the British masses than under native rule. England would sit back sullen and discontented "nursing her wrath to keep it warm," and would plot and scheme to overthrow her enemy. Why? The conditions for the toiling millions might be much better; they could not very well be worse. To anyone who

doubts this, I would recommend a reading of "Darkest England and the Way Out," by the late General Booth, founder of the Salvation Army. And yet the people of England, or Great Britain, as the case might be, would be burning with indignation, and shame at the humiliation that had fallen on them.

There would be cabals and whisperings, and heartburnings, here and there and everywhere, and hopes for the future, and every plan that man could devise would be gone over to hit on some means to overthrow the common enemy. Why? Because England and the English people would want to have their own again, would want to have sole charge of their own affairs, and guide their own destinies, and justly so, too, for the English people tell us that England has a great and glorious history back of her running down the centuries for a thousand years or more. And this is her inheritance, her pride and her glory, and she would naturally want it continued till time should be no more. There is not a single argument that can be made for England along these lines, not one that can be used for continuing her national existence, but can be made with equal force, and justice, for Ireland's national life.

CHAPTER XVII

IRELAND AN ANCIENT NATION.

Ours is an ancient nation, one of the oldest in the world; not like the mushroom nations of today. Most of these are belted and armed ready to plunder and seize any country too weak to resist. The height of their ambition seems to be to sweep down on any territory or people, despoil them of land and liberty, wherever possible, and without any regard whatever for the moral aspects of such proceedings or the rights of the people concerned.

Our annals show the antiquity of the nation and tell us that our ancient Gaelic laws, commonly called the Brehon laws, were codified, not newly made, in the year of Our Lord 438 when Laeghaire (pronounced Leary) was Ardrig of Erin, monarch of the whole country, and the work was begun in the fourth year of his reign, which would make it the year 438 of the Christian Era, or just six years after the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland.

This great work was finished in 441, when Theodosius the Second was emperor of the Roman world; and that these laws had come down from time immemorial. The laws they tell us, were revised at the request of St. Patrick, in order to purge them of anything opposed to faith and morality, and that the revision was made by nine persons, whose names are given; three kings, three bishops,

and three shanachus or historians, the work being presumably done by the latter; and that it was finished in A. D. 441. The point to which I want to call the reader's special attention is this: In the introduction to the shanachus Mor, or The Great Law it is stated: "Now, the judgment of true nature, which the Holy Spirit had spoken through the mouth of the brehon, judges, and just poets, of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of the island down to the reception of the Faith, were shown by Dubhthach (Doovah), to St. Patrick. What did not clash with the word of God, in the written law, and with the New Testament, and with the conscience of believers, was confirmed in the laws of the brehons, by the ecclesiastics and great men of Erin; for the law of nature *was quite right* except with regard to faith and its obligations, and the harmony of the Church of the people.

Almost all the ancient Gaelic laws had reached their full proportions and maturity about the time that Alfred of England was reducing to order the few scraps of elementary law he found among his people.

From the above extract found in the introduction to the Brehon laws, and written by one of its ancient revisers, it is seen that these laws had come down from the time of the first occupation of the island.

Compare this antiquity with that of the English law, which we first find merging into light in the time of Alfred, towards the end of the ninth century.

Alfred the Great himself, as is admitted by most students of ancient history, was educated in Ireland, as were nearly all the children of English nobility at the time, as well as those from the Continental countries, for Ireland was, in the time of Alfred, and for centuries before and after, the "Island of saints and scholars," the one great nursery of learning and sanctity, the one country which kept the torch of civilization burning during the overthrow of the Roman Empire.

When the English system was about beginning, the Ancient code of Erin had nearly reached its full maturity. Further growth was impossible because of the invasion and occupation of Ireland by the Danes, and after their expulsion by the coming of the Anglo-Normans in 1169-1172.

The English laws were forced on the English nation *from the outside*, in turn by the Angles, Romans, Danes and last of all, by the Norman French; and none were the natural outgrowth of the people themselves. nor were they written in the English language until the beginning of the sixteenth century, nor the legal proceedings until the middle of the eighteenth. Thus, it is seen, both the laws and legal proceedings carried the badge of the conquerors until comparatively recent times. And *even now* the royal assent is given in a language never understood by Englishmen.

Irish laws, on the contrary, not being im-

posed by any outside despot, or conqueror, not given as a threat, or command, but being the natural outpouring of the spirit of justice, and equity of the nation itself, and inspired by the ablest, wisest and best minds among the people, were, as might be expected, written in the language of the people. The laws thus made were broadly just and fair to all interests and to all parties, and protected every right and every interest of their simple lives. This is shown in many ways, but especially by the extraordinary tenacity with which the people clung to them, through every vicissitude; through good and evil report.

A nation, with such an ancient record, with such a history, going back to the very dawn of man's earthly existence, surely should have some right to a national and independent life. If it be said, as it may, that Ireland has cut no great figure of late, made no great conquest by land or sea, in war or in commerce, that she is not great in the sense of having overthrown kingdoms and empires, and destroyed millions of human lives, I answer—all this is true, there is no blood of murdered nations on her hands, there are no monuments erected to her glory built on the disgrace, the sufferings, and the humiliations of murdered peoples. Ireland can hold her head high, for she has always been, since she accepted the Gospel, the standard bearer of true civilization, of liberty, of peace and good will, of fair play and honest dealing among nations.

We can say of Ireland in the words of the late lamented, John Boyle O'Reilly:—

Island of Destiny, Innisfail, for thy faith is
thy payment near,
The mine of the future is opened and the
golden veins appear:
Thy hands are white, and thy page unstained;
Reach out for thy glorious years,
And take them, as a recompense for thy fortitude
and tears.

Ireland's ideals, are so different from those of the great modern nations of today that it is difficult and almost impossible to form comparisons between them. The nations nowadays are drunk with lust of conquest, which they call civilization, and of plunder which they call commerce and trade. The blood of the weaker peoples, is on their hands, the blood of all the just upon the earth, and is crying to heaven for vengeance. In the ancient days, when Ireland was mistress of her own destinies, in the times of her glory, she sought to protect the weak to instruct all, and to cultivate the arts of peace.

The following extracts from a lecture delivered in N. Y. City, on St. Patrick's day, by the Rev. T. J. Shealy, S. J., eloquently describes the ideals by which Ireland was governed, in the past and will be again with the blessing of Heaven in the future, as soon as she is allowed to have charge of her own affairs:—



JOHN O'CALLAGHAN
Late National Secretary, U. I. L. A.

"The ideal of a nation may be military glory and the feats that are writ in blood, whose emblem of strength is the sword, and the ravenous beast the symbol of victory," said Rev. T. J. Shealy, S. J., in his Carnegie Hall address.

"It may be the glory of art and the splendor of form which exults in the creations of beauty and worships at their shrine, and it may be the idea of wealth and commerce which spreads a table to fortune and gives to Mammon the keys of the city."

"The one attribute preeminent in the Celt, in the olden time and in the new, in all the dramatic changes in fair and adverse fortune, in all the strain and struggle of a marvelous if inscrutable history, is his supersensuous aspiration, his spiritual mindedness. Whatever be his shortcomings or virtues, the Celt stands amongst the races of the world for the things of the spirit. This constitutes his sovereign dignity and resource. It is the power by which he has become a mighty leaven, a vitalizing force in civilization. By virtue of such an ideal he labored and battled. For it he suffered and died. In it and by it he triumphs even in his failures.

"What a leavening and counteracting influence such a race of spiritual and moral power has had upon our modern age proud with the dogmatism of physical

science, sick and feverish with the absorbing and unfortunate demands for physical comfort, and mad with every passion of eye and ear in the vaudeville of fashion and folly.

"We need the Celtic mind, quick with spiritual discernment and the Celtic heart, instinct with spiritual power and suggestion. The Celt is a wanderer in the world but all his way is marked by the assertion and vindication of the things of the spirit. He is an apostle of the Evangel of Christ in all the earth. He has made the world brighter, happier, warmer, for his passing through. America could ill afford to be without his genial, generous fellowship and inspiration."

"With the graphic words of one who knew whereof he spoke, Father Shealy depicted the courageous efforts of the Irish people in preserving their faith and maintaining their system of moral and religious education in the face of century-long oppression."

"There is another marked characteristic of Ireland's idealism," he continued "one of the deepest and oldest ideals in her unbroken life. I mean her impassioned love of freedom, her indomitable spirit of nationality, her chivalrous devotion to the cause of patriotism and human rights. She is called a land of failures. Failures if you will—but glorious failures. What is national failure? Is it poverty—

suffering—the desecrated shrine—the dismantled halls of princely chief?

“No; these are ruins, not failures. The one awful failure to a nation is to fall from her ideals, to give up striving, to sell her soul to power and avarice or aught that serves the sordid sway of pride and passion. That, indeed, is failure which succeeds at the price of virtue and honor. Ireland might have been rich and favored. She might have merged her identity and her faith in an alien empire and alien worship. But she fought and died; she starved and agonized; and in defeat she has conquered. Her spirit still lives on.

“If the Gael is the martyr and the inspiration of civil liberty, he is no less the martyr and champion of social and economic liberty. He led the way in the industrial awakening, for there was a social question in the world long before the doctrinaires of exploitation injected their sophistries into the field of labor. There was a social question in Ireland, not inspired by the Marxian gospel of values and atheism, but by the natural, inherent, inalienable, and therefore God-given rights of man.”

CHAPTER XVIII

IRELAND THE CHRISTIANIZER AND CIVILIZER

Ireland as a nation and free to act for herself, was constructive, and sought to save, to build up; and not to pull down, to rend, to destroy, as do the nations of today. During the overthrow of the Roman Empire, when the great barbarous hordes poured forth from the northern forests, resolved to destroy everything that men prize, all that goes to constitute society, learning, arts, science, literature, in a word, civilization, and Christianity, Ireland, through her great army of Christian missionaries, came to the rescue and saved the world from its wouldbe destroyers, by conquering the conquerors, by christianizing and civilizing them.

And thus the Christian world became more indebted to Ireland than it can well realize today; owes her more than it can ever repay.

At this most critical moment, when all the priceless heirlooms and treasures of the ancient world were threatened with destruction, when war, strife, rapine and bloodshed raged throughout almost the whole of the then known world, the Christian missionaries, mostly monks of the different religious orders, came to the rescue and saved the world and its people.

And among the earliest and most zealous as well as most numerous of these mission-

aries were hosts of Irish monks, as stated by the famous French writer, Montalembert, in his *Monks of the West*.

This great missionary movement began about the commencement of the sixth century, and continued with increasing numbers and force until about the middle of the tenth century, and with lessening numbers for some time longer.

These champions of the cross spread themselves throughout the whole of the known world, and many think they even reached America with St. Brendan and his followers. So numerous and so zealous were they that the Protestant writer, Carl Zimmer, in his work "*The Celtic Element in Medieval Civilization*" says: They were the principal and almost sole agents for the rechristianizing and re-civilizing of practically the whole of Europe, but particularly the following countries:—France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, parts of Hungary, Holland, Poland, Russia, Sweden, the Feroe Islands, North of England, Scotland, Wales and Iceland.

So great was the work of these missionaries that Zimmer gives us to understand most of the great ancient seats of learning on the continent of Europe were established by them, as were those in England, among the latter being Malmsbury, Lindisfarne and Melrose.

Perhaps I can give the reader a better idea of Ireland's glorious work for true civilization and for man's real uplift in those far off times, by an extract from a speech delivered a short

time ago by the late Cardinal Moran, of Australia:—

THE MIRACLE OF IRELAND.

"The other day," said the late Cardinal Moran, "I read in a discussion the remarks made by an Englishman, and a member of Parliament, who said: 'Ireland is a miracle!' That was a short phrase; still it was very emphatic, and one that could not be excelled. In the first place, Ireland was a miracle by the fact of the apostolate of St. Patrick, who in his short life gathered the whole of the country into the field of the Catholic Church. A second feature was the fact that Ireland was a sanctuary of enlightenment and divine truth, and its people became so enthusiastic in the paths of virtue that Ireland became known as the Isle of Saints."

"Another feature was the wonderful missionary spirit which led the sons of Ireland to the various countries of Europe overrun by barbarians, there to spread the blessings of enlightenment and religion, and to give to those nations true Christian civilization. Then came the miracle of Job. They had read of that great patriarch, who in the midst of his prosperity had been reduced to the greatest sufferings and humiliations, and yet submitted to God's will. So, too, in

Ireland, after three centuries of English invasion and persecution, Ireland retained its faith and devotion to God. That was its fourth feature. "

"A fifth feature of the miracle was the heroism and devotion of the martyrs of Ireland, which could not be surpassed. And the sixth feature was more remarkable. It was Ireland coming forth from the tomb. During the past hundred years, Ireland had laid aside its sorrows to rejoice in the path of piety and faith, to spread out in every country the blessings of religion. Any one who looked forward to decay of the Irish race would look in vain. It was an old saying that St. Patrick had prayed that the Irish race would retain its faith to the last day of Judgment, and I may tell my good friends here that when they see the traditions of the Irish race beginning to decay, they may look out for a safe spot, as the end of the world is coming."

Ireland has been so long maligned, slandered and misrepresented in every way so persistently trampled on and thrown aside from the pathway of the nations, by those who had an interest in thus treating her, that people nowadays, even some of her own, find all this hard to believe, and almost incredible, but it is true nevertheless, and well known to students of history.

While her sons were thus engaged abroad,

planting the seeds of religion and civilization, Ireland herself had become the great sanctuary for all the learning of the times, the one oasis in those disturbed and troublesome periods where civilization found a home and refuge.

For many reasons Ireland was especially fitted for the great work she was engaged in, both at home and abroad. A Roman soldier had never trodden on her soil. She was far removed from the theatre of bloodshed and strife, and after receiving Christianity from St. Patrick in 432, began at once to cultivate the arts of peace, and gradually established great universities everywhere throughout the land, and to these schools flocked the students, not only from all parts of Europe, but from countries as far distant as Egypt. All were received with open arms, and were fed, housed and clothed free of charge; in a word, provided for them in every way, and were instructed in all the learning of the times, and by the ablest masters to be found. Oh! how are the mighty fallen! when the country that conferred such blessings and benefits on the world, and at a time when such were sorely needed, is now given little or no credit for her then great work, and was until lately spoken of only to be flouted and jeered at. Perhaps it is too much to expect gratitude from nations any more than from individuals, at any rate it is not always forthcoming. I may say here, however, that Ireland is just now more concerned about justice than gratitude, and needs it more. And the truest form of jus-

tice is to let her have "her own again," to give her charge of her own affairs.

That she might make mistakes and blunders here and there, and at times make false steps, goes without saying. If indeed she commits no crime against her own people, or her sister nations, she will be far ahead of others that have had long experience of self-government and will have much cleaner hands!

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DAWNING OF LIBERTY.

Like individuals, most nations during their lives do make mistakes, not only at the beginning, but all through their lives. England has surely made her share. Not to go too far back,—her war against the Americans was not only a blunder, but a huge crime, and is so admitted by practically all Englishmen to-day, as shown by the effort now being made to erect a monument to Washington in England.

Her whole history in Ireland is one long series of crimes and blunders, each series worse than the other.

And Mr. Brooks admits it, as do all fair-minded and reasonable men. Ireland could not possibly do worse for herself in the way of self-government than England has done for her. Any change must be for the better, none could be for the worse.

She could, and would, deal justly and fairly with all her own people of every class and creed, notwithstanding what Orange bigots say to the contrary.

In the bloody chasm of the past she would bury the old time enmities, hatreds, and heart-burnings, and so let the dead past bury its dead. She would encourage her own trade, what little there is left of it, develop her great natural resources, open up her mines, improve her fine and commodious harbors, among the

finest in the world, and which are now largely idle.

Thus the sunshine of hope and cheer and encouragement would displace the clouds of sullen discontent which have until now, like a pall, covered the land and people.

She would then take her rightful place in the world, she would become a leader in everything that is noble, just and true; in short, she would renew her youth, and again teach the nations, as of old, that *might* is not necessarily right, and that *truth* and *liberty* and *justice* are still worth striving for.

I fully realize that these sentiments will be regarded as the supremest folly by many people, by all those, in fact, who believe the end justifies the means, especially where there is no punishment in sight, and among them I may mention those statesmen who shape the policies of nations, and particularly those nations that ride roughshod over the lives and liberties of the weaker peoples of the world, as if the moral law were blotted out of the universe, and right and wrong were unknown.

Ireland can truly say of herself with the poet:—

What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted?

Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just;
And but naked, though locked in steel,

Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.

Just now new life is springing up in the Old Land, and new energy born of the hope that she will soon have Home Rule, that she will

be a nation once more. The land is coming back to its rightful owners; it is, in fact, almost theirs already, and will be entirely in their possession within fifteen or twenty years.

What a glorious prospect for Ireland, after she has trodden the winepress alone for so many centuries, derided scourged, and crucified, and now triumphant!

And her ancient language, too, though not receiving the encouragement it should from the powers that be, is not laughed to scorn and flouted as of old, nor is it now a crime to speak it, as it was in times not very remote.

In spite of many obstacles in its path, it is making its way into the hearts and affections of its people, and teaching them to express themselves along the lines of their hereditary genius. Later on, it may help to bar out the immense mass of vile literature, so called, that is flooding the world at the present time.

The Irish language is the outgrowth of a simple, primitive people, whose ideals all tend to the spiritual side of man, towards the higher things of life.

The tongue of Conn, of Finn, and of Ossian, of Brian, Patrick, and Bridget, the tongue of our warriors, our saints, and our sages as well as our free born sires, is still with us, to sooth, to charm, to cheer, and enliven us.

The language of a nation is its true soul, and, this gone, its real national life is departed.

But the old tongue is not dead, though everything that wealth and power and human ingenuity could do were resorted to in order to kill it, but in spite of all it has survived somehow, as has the nation that gave it birth, and is coming back to its own again, and with it are coming, too, Irish music, folklore, traditions, sports, pastimes, and last, but by no means least, Irish history. For Ireland has a history, let it not be forgotten, that would put to shame some of those nations that now lord it over the world. She was old and great before many of them were born, as I have shown elsewhere, and as she was present at their cradles she will in all probability see many of them buried.

She is arising from the ashes of her desolation, to take her rightful place in the world, a place from which she has long been a stranger, so long that her name is almost forgotten, but she comes to it by right, but by right of having always been true to principle, to truth, and liberty. And this not only in Ireland itself, but everywhere around the world where liberty and justice were assailed and needed a champion. Had Ireland temporized, had she gone in for expediency, had she sacrificed principle, she might have feasted sumptuously every day, and at the tables of kings, but she preferred righteousness, truth and honor to everything else, and as a consequence she has been thrust out into the cold, beaten and trampled on, her nationality almost blotted out, her faith, her language, her learn-

ing banned, her teachers exiled, under penalty of death, her history, traditions, her music, and everything she held dear, derided, scoffed and jeered at. And yet, miracle of the ages! she has survived. How? and why? God alone knows, for there is a divinity that shapes the ends of nations, as well as those of individuals. It is not given to us to penetrate the designs of Providence, but it does seem to be reasonably sure that the preservation of Ireland, under such long continued adverse circumstances, is that she may serve some useful purpose among the nations. And it goes without saying, this can best be done by allowing her to work out her own salvation in her own way, and without let or hindrance from any other quarter.

If this be thought too impractical in this very practical age, I may remind the reader that all the great reforms, all the mighty achievements of the ages, were regarded by those who opposed them, by nearly all the people at the times as being impractical. The independence and self-government of the American colonies were most impractical and chimerical to the English of the times and were to them, in fact, the sheerest folly which must surely end, and that very soon, in the total destruction of the Colonial government, and by their own people, as soon as they had come to their senses, which would be very soon. And so too, the freeing of the slaves by the proclamation of President Lincoln during the Civil war. And so it

goes; everything calculated to benefit men, or nations, is opposed by those whose interests are threatened or endangered. Ireland, having been thrust aside from among the nations, is now coming to the front to take her rightful place in the family circle. It is quite probable that her step may be a little timid and faltering at first, because of her lack of recent experience, but with time will come experience, later on confidence, and finally success.

The San Francisco *Post* well voices the sentiments of Irish hearts at this time, and says:—

TRIUMPH OF IRISH SPIRIT.

“With the passage of the Home Rule Bill by the House of Commons the indomitable spirit of Irish Nationalism approaches a realization of centuries. The passage of the Bill is of world-wide importance, for the ubiquitous Irish populate all of the countries of the globe and have preserved the National instinct from generation to generation. Even had Ireland itself been entirely depopulated of men and women of the Celtic race, the resentment against the crushing of the Irish race would survive in the world. It never could be killed. The recognition of its right to survive vindicates its supporters and glorifies the cause.

“There are new strings on the Harp of Tara. The National Melodies will sound

upon it again, sweetly as in the olden Minstrel days, and its tones will be stronger because of the new hope which was won through suffering. It will play upon a brighter theme, but its notes will always tell of patriotism that endures."

It seems fitting and most appropriate at this time, when Ireland's hopes and the hopes of her friends are high, that I should quote, as a shout of joy and a new alleluia, the stirring poem of "*Erin's Flag*," by the late Rev. Father Abram Ryan, the poet priest of the South.

ERIN'S FLAG

Unroll Erin's flag; fling its folds to the breeze;
 Let it float o'er the land, let it flash o'er the seas;
 Lift it out of the dust! let it wave as of yore!
 When its chiefs, with their clans, stood around it
 and swore

That never! no never! while God gave them life!
 And they had an arm, and a sword, for the strife!
 That never, no never, that banner should yield
 As long as the heart of a Celt was its shield;
 While the hand of a Celt had a weapon to wield!
 And his last drop of blood was unshed on the field!

Lift it up! wave it high! 'tis as bright as of old!
 Not a stain on its green! not a blot on its gold!
 Though the woes and the wrongs of three hundred
 long years;
 Have drenched Erin's Sunburst with blood and
 with tears,
 Though the clouds of oppression enshroud it in gloom,
 And around it the thunders of tyranny boom,
 Look aloft! Look aloft! the clouds drifting by;
 There's a gleam through the gloom; there's a light
 in the sky!

Tis the sunburst resplendent, far flashing on high!
Erin's Dark night is waning, her day dawn is nigh.

I can say of Ireland, with the late lamented
John Boyle O'Reilly:—

We have wronged no race, we have robbed no land,
We have never oppressed the weak;
And this, in the face of heaven, is the nobler thing
to speak.

Our poet, Moore, beautifully expresses
Ireland's rising hopes, at this time, in the
following exquisite poem:—

THE NATIONS HAVE FALLEN

By Thomas Moore

The nations have fallen and thou art still young
Thy sun is but rising, when others are set;
And tho' slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung
The full noon of Freedom shall beam round thee yet,
Erin, oh Erin, tho' long in the shade,
Thy star shall shine out when the proudest shall fade.

Unchill'd by the rain, and unwaked by the wind,
The lily lies sleeping thro' winter's cold hour,
Till Spring's light touch her fetters unbind,
And daylight and Liberty bless the young flower,
Thus Erin, oh Erin, thy winter is past,
And the hope that lived thro' it shall blossom at last.
And so God save Ireland!

In closing this little tribute to Motherland
let me say, as did the immortal Henry Grattan
on a certain memorable occasion in the old
Irish House of Commons:—

"I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags. He may be naked—he shall not be in iron. And I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted; and though great men should apostatize, yet the cause will live, and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him."

END.

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